SEATO RECORD

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THIS ISSUE:

- New Zealand Helps Resettled Thais
- SEATO's Medical Seminar
- Dangers of Accommodation with Peking

SEATO RECORD

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

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AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

SEATO REGIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE

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SEATO SKILLED LABOUR PROJECTS:

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Teacher Development Centre, Bangkok.
Vocational Training Centres located in 19 provincial cities.

Pakistan—

SEATO Technical Training Centre, Dacca.
SEATO Technical Training Centre, Karachi.

Philippines—

SEATO Vocational Training Centre, Marikina.

SEATO MEDICAL PROJECTS:

Thailand—

SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok.
SEATO Clinical Research Centre, Bangkok.

Pakistan—

Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca.

SEATO CULTURAL PROGRAMME

Under-Graduate Scholarships, Post Graduate Scholarships, Fellowships, Professorships. Literary Awards

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COVER PICTURE:

The New Zealand Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Eric Halstead, returns the "wai" greetings from Yao hilltribes people when he arrives at Ban Pa Klang, Northern Thailand, to open a water storage dam built with a grant of $25,000 by New Zealand.

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EXPERTS PRAISE SEATO'S MEDICAL SEMINAR

MORE than 300 medical experts from throughout the world attended the First International Seminar of SEATO's Medical Research Laboratory, held in Bangkok from February 22-25.

The Seminar, which covered the methodology of medical research in a developing country, was the first of its kind to be held after ten years of research carried out by the Bangkok-based laboratory.

In its decade of service, the laboratory has accumulated considerable experience in the conduct of field-orientated medical research, an essential prelude to the implementation of any health care system.

SEATO sponsored the Seminar in order to share as widely as possible the benefits of this research and to submit the methods used to critical examination.

Participants to the Seminar felt that their examination of the methodology of medical research, where the cost of research must be weighed against the cost of providing readily available health care, would be of considerable assistance to their own countries. They agreed that the Seminar had been "highly-successful".

Professor J.K. Gillett, Head of the Department of Applied Biology, Brunel University, London, said the Seminar had provided the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory with an opportunity to show what work it had been doing.

At the same time new view points were presented in return through "a two-way exchange of ideas."

Another participant, Col. Francis C. Cadigan, Jr. (U.S.), praised the Seminar for its unique usefulness in promoting an exchange of knowledge and an understanding of the medical health problems in the countries represented.

He said a great deal of information was drawn from the various experiences of the participating countries.

Similar views were expressed by Dr. Nopadol Tongsopit, Deputy Director of Khon Khaen Hospital, North East Thailand, who found the experiences particularly useful in relation to the problems being faced in his own area where the Reye's syndrome was the leading cause of death among children between 2-6 years old.

Eighty children of that age group, he said, died each year in Khon Khaen area alone.

He added: "It is most commendable that the SEATO medical team has done so much in relentlessly trying to find out more about this mysterious disease."

Col. L.B. Altstatt, Director of the US Army Medical Component of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, said the Seminar was "successful beyond expectation". About 330 participants had turned up for "a stimulating exchange of ideas and experiences on topics ranging from malaria to brand new disorders like the Reye's syndrome. We shared our experiences with them, and they in turn shared theirs with us."

In view of this, he hoped there would be a similar Seminar in the future, perhaps in another regional country.

Experts working in the following countries attended the Seminar—Australia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Republic of China, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States and Vietnam.

Seminar reports and pictures : Pages 4-9

'Collective effort needed to control disease'

AT the official opening of the Seminar, SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas said that the Organization's great interest in health and medical research had been of long standing.

He told the audience at the Ramathibodi Hospital Auditorium, Bangkok, that shortly after SEATO was founded in 1954 it embarked on investigations into the health problems of the Treaty area.

This culminated in the establishment of a Cholera Research Project in Bangkok in 1959 and of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, also in Bangkok, in 1960. The former was subsequently relocated in Dacca in East Pakistan and reorganized into what was now the Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory.

Later, said Gen. Vargas, the SEATO Clinical Research Centre was also founded in Bangkok as a co-ordinating agency of the Medical Research Laboratory, in collaboration with the Royal Thai Government. These establishments came into existence in direct response to the health requirements of the region and were now making significant, and in some cases revolutionary, contributions to health and medical research everywhere in the world.

"SEATO's abiding interest in health and medical research stems mainly from humanitarian considerations", said Gen. Vargas. "We recognize that the study and control of disease in the world demand a collective effort to which the traditional barriers of race, creed and policitical persuasion are largely irrelevant.

"Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of another activity which so frequently, if not in fact invariably, leads men of diverse origin to serious collective effort," he said.

This universal readiness and determination to fight disease found immediate practical application in the developing countries of Asia, most of which relied on a predominantly agricultural economy. "We are aware that a vast number of diseases peculiar particularly to the rural areas have so sorely impaired the health and impeded the progress of the people," said the Secretary-General.

"It is axiomatic that a people cannot be progressive unless it is healthy, and that a stagnant and unprogressing people cannot possibly be happy and contented. It is equally fundamental that a healthy, progressive and contented people makes for happier and more peaceful communities. Here lies the rationale of SEATO's involvement in medical research and associated activities," he stated.

It was in recognition of the particularly wide variety of diseases endemic to South-East Asia and of the opportunity which they presented for useful investigations that SEATO had thought of staging a seminar on the methodology of medical research.

Thailand's Deputy Minister of Health, Dr. Somboon Pongaksorn, said that the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory was established to include participants from all member nations, but developments had led to its being essentially a joint enterprise of the United States and of the Royal Thai Government.

Thailand was pleased to have American investigators actively engaged in the study of disease within its borders. There were, however, obligations which were imperative for the visiting investigator in a host country.

Primarily, the investigator must follow the ancient dictum of Western medicine, *primum non nocere* meaning, "first, to do no harm." The same humanitarian standards for medical investigation followed in the Western countries must be closely followed when medical research was done in developing countries.

Second, the responsible individuals in the government of the host country should be kept fully informed of the activities of visiting scientists.

Third, all medical research involving humans ought to be collaborative. For example, a Thai medical investigator ought to participate in every project which involved Thai subjects. This latter policy produced several beneficial results. The Thai physician provided the essential linguistic and cultural interface between the foreign investigator and the subjects of his investigation and it stimulated the Thai investigator to improve his own methods of scientific investigation.

Finally, full and timely disclosure of data and conclusions ought to be an essential part of any collaborative medical research arrangement.

These conditions were rational and just, and thev had been the basic framework upon which the activities of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory had been built.

Seen at the opening ceremony of the SEATO Medical Seminar are (left to right): Col. L.B. Altstatt, MD, MC, Director of the US Army Medical Component, SEATO; Brig. Gen. Richard R. Taylor, MC, Commanding General US Army Medical Research and Development Command; Gen. Jesus Vargas, SEATO Secretary-General; Rear Admiral Samrit Jatinandana, MC, RTN, Director General SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, and Dr. Somboon Pongaksorn, Thailand's Deputy Minister of Health.

SEMINAR TOLD OF HEALTH HAZARD FROM WATER JARS

THERE'S a health hazard just outside most Thais' houses, the SEATO Medical Seminar was told at its first plenary session. The danger comes from the water jars—widely usde both in rural and town settings in Thailand—which are breeding grounds for the mosquito (aedes aegypti) which is one of the principal carriers of dengue fever.

The hazard was mentioned by Douglas J. Gould, Ph. D., Chief, Department of Medical Entomology, US Army Medical Component, SEATO, and Dr. Lloyd C. Olsen, Department of Microbiology, Mahidol University, Bangkok, when they described surveys designed to investigate and eliminate dengue fever.

They reported that from these studies it had emerged that there was a lot of work yet to be done in the study of the virus, but that it was possible to control the disease by eradicating the mosquito aedes aegypti which breeds in water jars.

After there had been some criticism of teh size, expense and validity of small surveys, Dr. Julie Sulianti Saroso (Indonesia) called for a simplification of research programmes so that poorer nations were able to conduct useful research to deal with their health problems without too heavy a drain on their resources.

Professor's Plea

Professor J.D. Gillett (Department of Applied Biology, Brunel University, London) asked that all research projects of the sort described be looked at from a world point of view.

However expensive a piece of academic research in the field might prove to be, the facts established and collated were a valid base for further more objective studies for posterity.

Men more likely to get rabies

DURING discussions on the second day of the Seminar, Dr. Chom Dhebhyasuwan, Chief of the Division of Prevention of Communicable Diseases, in Thailand's Ministry of Health, said that for various reasons more than twice as many men as women contracted rabies.

One reason might be that men's "nocturnal adventures"—the fact that they were more likely to be wandering around the streets at night—made them more available targets for canine attention.

It had also been noted, said Dr. Chom, that male dogs also contracted the disease very much more often than bitches.

Dr. Chom said that many advances had been made in the detection and prevention of rabies, but much remained to be done. He suggested that the licensing of non-guard dogs in urban areas would alleviate the problem.

Although prompt reporting of dog bites was essential, immediate first-aid—thorough washing and cleaning of the bite area—could help the situation.

Over 300 deaths in Thailand

The Seminar was told that rabies had claimed over 300 deaths in Thailand in 1970, but fear and superstition over the disease exaggerated the danger.

Discussion on rabies followed the presentation of a paper "Diagnostic Techniques for Rabies" by Robert L. Hickman, of the Department of Veterinary Medicine, US Army Medical Component, SEATO.

New parasite of man discovered

A new parasite of man (Pheneropsolus Bonnei) has been discovered in Thailand by George S. Manning, MA, of the Department of Parasitology, US Army Medical Component, SEATO. It is not yet known whether the parasite presents a serious health hazard.

Dr. Manning disclosed his discovery at the third plenary session of the SEATO Medical Seminar.

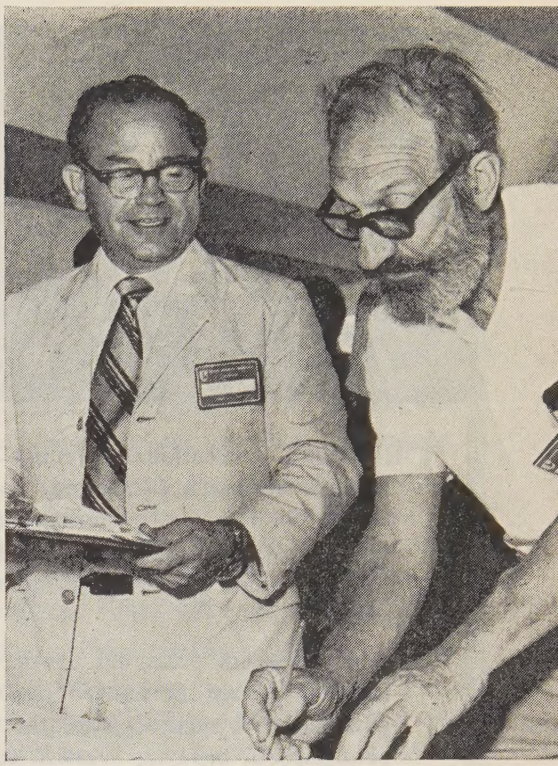
He said that the intestinal fluke was only one millimetre long, which might account for the fact that it had not been found previously. It had unique features in that it was conveyed from water, where it lived in snails, via the larvae (naiad) of the dragonfly.

This was the first time that dragonflies had been implicated in the spread of a parasite which had also been found in bats and monkeys. This showed not only that man and these animals ate the larvae or the adult dragonfly, but also that the parasite could effect its life cycle through man and bat.

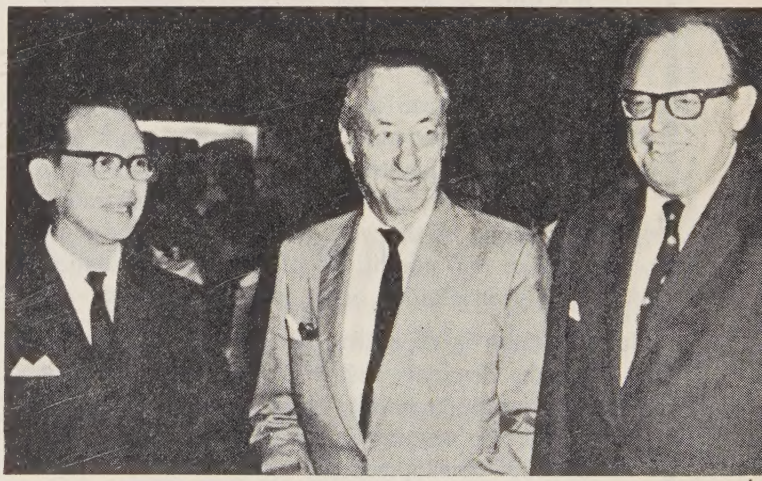
No parasite common to both had previously been observed.

SEMINAR IN FOCUS

● *Pictured during a break at the Seminar are (left to light): Dr. Edgardo T. Caparas, President-Elect of the Philippine Medical Association; Dr. Joaquin Sumpaico, Director, Bureau Research Laboratory, Manila; Dr. Benjamin Cabrera, Dean, Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, University of the Philippines.*



● *Professor W.P. Rogers of the Department of Entomology, University of Adelaide, registers for the Seminar while Dr. Norman E. Wilks (left), Chief, Department of Parasitology, US Army Medical Compouent, SEATO, looks on.*



ABOVE: At the opening ceremony of the Seminar (left to right): the Ambassadors to Thailand of the Philippines (Mr. Mauro Calingo), Australia (Mr. T.K. Critchley) and New Zealand (Mr. Eric Halstead).

LEFT: At the reception in honour of the participants to the Seminar, the British Ambassador to Thailand, Sir Arthur de la Mare (left), is seen in conversation with Mr. Hugh Docherty, SEATO Director of Cultural and Economic Affairs and General Chairman of the Seminar, and Dr. Julie Sulianti Saroso from Indonesia.

Seminar Postscript

By Surgeon Commander G.A.R. Giri, O.B.E., R.N., Staff Medical Officer, SEATO Military Planning Office.

THE First International Seminar of SEATO's Medical Research Laboratory concerned itself largely with expert presentations of field research projects carried out in Thailand, although where possible the results of investigations were given.

The aim of papers presented at the Seminar was to show clearly the lines of thought that had gone into the methodology, the difficulties encountered in bringing Western techniques into a South-East Asian setting, and the inherent weaknesses of such techniques in this setting.

The objective of the seminar—as explained by Colonel L.B. Altstatt, the Director of the US Army Medical Component (US AMC) of the Laboratory, in his opening remarks—was not only to show the work and aims of the laboratory but also to invite criticism and suggestions from the assembled audience.

The SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, although military-sponsored, does no classified work and has an open hand to conduct research wherever a military or civilian need is demonstrated. The scope of the work has been wide and most diseases and conditions of the Thai population have been studied, with gratifying success.

Such research is expensive, and one of the reasons for the Seminar was to show how difficult it is to apply methods which work well in one country to another in a different situation and stage of development.

Professor J.D. Gillett (Department of Applied Biology, Brunel University London) made the point that well-conducted research, however expensive, leaves factual results which are available to posterity. Such research should not therefore always be criticised on the objective grounds of cost, but should be viewed academically from a universal point of view.

It is of interest to mention some of the papers read to the Seminar to indicate the wide range of subjects covered.

"A Cross Sectional Community Health Survey".

Dr. Richard A. Grossman, Chief, Dept. of Epidemiology USAMC SEATO, described a study of a small village in North West Thailand, Inae, where immigrant Lua hilltribesmen had settled side by side with local Thais, the disease and general health parameters of the two groups being thought likely to reveal differences of significance to other studies.

The survey had yet to be fully evaluated due to the large amount of data to be processed. However, much had been learned about the local problems thrown up by such a survey, and Dr. Philip S. Bruchman (Director, Epidemiology Programme Center for Disease Control, Atlanta, U.S.A.) stressed the importance of giving the local headman and other important people the immediate provisional assessment of results. This was an essential basis for future co-operation.

"A Time Limited Study of Dengue in an Insular Setting" and "A Longitudinal Study of Dengue in an Urban Setting".

Dr. Douglas J. Gould, Ph.D. (Chief, Dept. of Medical Entomology, USAMC SEATO) described the island study and the elimination of the mosquito vectors which was attempted in an effort to assess the control of the disease. Dr. Lloyd C. Olsen (Dept. of Microbiology, Mahidol University Bangkok) described the only medical study of this disease possible in an urban setting; this involved the detailed investigation of children admitted to hospital.

Among the findings—immunity to one of the four types of dengue did not protect against the others, and one could only be sure of immunity

after an attack by all four types.

"A Longitudinal Field and Hospital Study of Japanese Encephalitis".

Dr. Marvin H. Firestone (Chief, Dept. of Neuropsychiatry), Dr. Robert Edelmen (Asst. Chief, Dept. of Virology), both of the USAMC SEATO, and Dr. Grossman all reported on the project to investigate this serious mosquito-borne disease which kills many children and leaves many others mentally and physically disabled.

The medical care that was given during the study was one of the factors that ensured co-operation in a difficult study involving the taking of blood samples from an unsophisticated Thai population.

Over 400,000 mosquitoes had so far been studied in this project, which had required a laboratory support staff of 45.

"A Study of Infectious Hepatitis in Thailand".

Dr. Robert B. Cotton (Chief, Dept. of Medicine, USAMC, SEATO) referred to the probabilities of higher carrier rates and generally higher infectivity in Thailand. The study was conducted in Bangkok hospitals and was made possible by the discovery of an Australian antigen. One of the problems was that it was not always possible to be sure of the accuracy of testing. Nevertheless it was proposed to extend the survey into other areas of the country.

"A System for the Study of Chloroquine Resistant Malaria in the Field".

Dr. Edward J. Colwell (Special Asst. to the Director, USAMC, SEATO) described a new system which made it possible to survey chloroquine resistant falciparum malaria in the field. *In vitro* tests had to be proved, and the difficulties of the system were shown.

"A Longitudinal Study of an Idiopathic Disease".

Dr. Allen M. Glasgow (Dept. of Medicine, USAMC, SEATO) spoke about Reyes syndrome, which is an encephalopathy now shown to be associated with acute liver failure and which has caused many deaths among children in the Udorn area of Thailand.

The systematic evaluation of the problem was described and the reasons given why a toxin from a fungus present in rice during the wet season has been put forward as a possible cause of the disease.

"Viability of Biomedical Concepts Among Varying Ecosystems".

Professor Chamlong Harinasuta (Dean, Faculty of Tropical Medicine, Mahidol University) said the paper's title needed translation; it meant the "modification of Western methods for use in under-developed countries." He stressed the many differences in the structure of society, in religion, in climate and in custom, which if not all taken into account could lead to useless reseach efforts. All these many factors had to be processed by the environment to make a disease either viable or non-viable.

"Implementation of Medical Concepts".

Professor Charas Yamarat (Dean, Faculty of Public Health, Mahidol University) said that regardless of all other factors raising the standard of living was vital to the solution of disease problems.

Panel Discussions

During panel discussions, Professor Gillett said there was a danger that medical research in a country like Thailand would retrace the same ground because results did not appear in disease control. Not enough effort was put into information services.

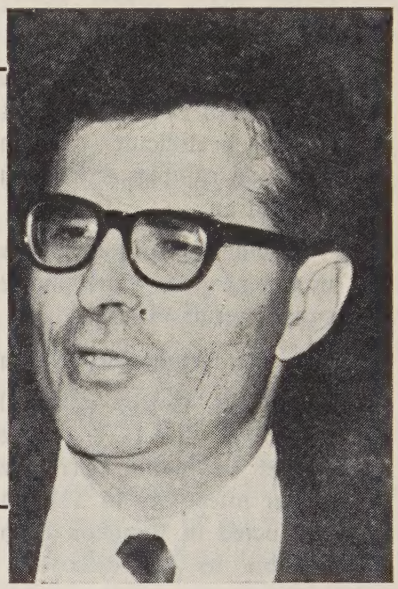
Television should be used extensively and subtle propaganda employed to change age old habits, which were the main causes of persistant disease in primitive populations.

Summing up, the Seminar Chairman (Dr. W.P. Rogers, Dept. of Entomology, Adelaide University) said that many of the problems discussed were long term and a short-term approach was inappropriate.

Colonel Altstatt said the Seminar had shown a large audience not only how much work was being done by the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory in Bangkok, but also what problems faced the investigator in Thailand, and the Thai people. The stimulating thoughts put to the conference would give rise to fruitful discussion in the future, and SEATO would be ready to give further help if it was needed.

TEMPTATIONS ACCOMMODATIO

by Dr. Harold C. Hinton



Dr. Hinton (pictured right) is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies at George Washington University, Washington D.C. He is a noted Chinese affairs specialist and has written numerous publications on China and allied subjects.

In this article, he makes it clear that after creating the right environment no South-East Asian State should or need compromise the autonomy of its domestic or foreign policy through an unwise and unnecessary effort to accommodate Peking.

THE winds of change have been blowing across the international politics of South-East Asia for about 30 years, but seldom as uncertainly as now. Unpredictability arises from the large number of changes that are occurring simultaneously.

For most practical purposes, Britain is withdrawing its military presence from the region. The United States, under the banner of the Nixon Doctrine, is engaged in a process of partial disengagement whose extent and timing are highly uncertain but likely to be significant in their effects, especially in the Indochinese countries.

Japan's massive economic strength and growing economic activity in South-East Asia are beginning to create at least the possibility of an important political, and conceivably even military, role in the region.

The Soviet Union, fearing that a partial vacuum created by Great Britain and the United States may be filled by Japan and China, is trying to fill the assumed vacuum itself, insofar as possible, through an increase in nearly every aspect of its own activities.

Communist China, emerging from the isolation imposed by its own excesses during the Cultural Revolution, fearful of a possible resumption of Soviet pressure on their common border, and anxious over increased Soviet and Japanese activity in Asia, is trying to improve its own standing in the region by a variety of diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic means while continuing to exploit anti-American and anti-Japanese feeling and to foster "people's wars" in areas considered appropriately vulnerable.

VARIOUS OPTIONS

Among the various options open to governments of the South-East Asian countries in this complex situation, the one that is considered here is that of accommodation with Communist China (or Peking). The main possible inducements to such a course are reasonably obvious. Of all the major powers with significant interests in South-East Asia, Peking comes closest to being a true South-East Asian power; it will always be "there." Not only its proximity but

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its huge size and population, its cultural prestige, its potential power, and its long tradition of aspiring to some form of Asian hegemony give it substantial psychological and political leverage on South-East Asia.

It is likely to be under Communist rule for the indefinite future and therefore to remain committed to political and social revolution not only at home but abroad. To a considerable extent, its potential power is likely to be realized in such forms as industrial growth and nuclear-armed missiles.

DOMINATION NOT INEVITABLE

At some times and in some quarters, there has been a feeling—which Peking undoubtedly would like to encourage in spite of its denial of any ambition to be a "super power"—that China and some form of Chinese domination are the "wave of the future" for Asia, or at any rate for South-East Asia. But this discussion proceeds on the assumption that Chinese domination is not the inevitable fate of South-East Asia, and that a destiny not only more desirable but more probable is a multilateral balance of power within which the regional States will retain considerable freedom of manoeuvre. On this assumption, Chinese policy toward South-East Asia becomes, not an irresistible force, but a phenomenon that can be coped with, and presumably can be coped with better if it is understood.

Like almost any power, and especially any major power, Peking seeks to enhance its security and increase its influence. Its northern frontier, largely dominated by the Soviet Union, and its eastern frontier, largely dominated by the United States and Japan, are regions of high risks and offer relatively little freedom of manoeuvre for Peking, at least at present. Any sense of encouragement it may feel over American disengagement appears to be balanced by concern over what it regards as a Japanese resurgence.

The southern frontier (South and South-East Asia), on the other hand, is a relatively unstable and vulnerable region where Peking can compete actively with the United States, Japan, and the Soviet Union without undue risk. Indeed, Peking does not seem to have perceived a serious risk to itself from this direction since it concluded in early 1966 that the war in Vietnam was unlikely to escalate to the level of an American attack on China.

Considerations of influence are therefore paramount in Peking's policy toward South-East (and South) Asia, the more so because compensation is sought for the relatively limited opportunities to the north and east. Peking's ultimate goal seems to be a Maoist version of the old tributary system, in which local Communist-controlled States would more or less spontaneously seek Chinese aid, advice, and support, and accept a considerable degree of Chinese leadership.

"PEOPLE'S WARS"

The preferred ultimate method for the attainment of this goal is a series of essentially "self-reliant" local "people's wars," supported by Peking at low cost and risk. Pending the materialization of this phenomenon on a widespread scale, Peking tries to keep the region as fluid as possible, so that other powers will not be able to create spheres of influence of their own that will inhibit the ultimate emergence of Peking as the leading power of the region.

Toward South-East Asian States regarded as hostile, incompatible, or merely vulnerable, Peking employs various forms of coercion. The most important one is probably subversion and support for local revolutionary or insurgent movements.

➡

Peking's problem in this respect is that once an indigenous movement of this kind takes firm root, as it obviously has in Vietnam, it soon grows beyond Peking's power to control it; conversely, where Peking is in a good position to exert a controlling influence, as in the case of the insurgencies in the northern regions of Burma and Thailand, the movements tend to remain weak.

For a variety of reasons, notably military risks and political and economic costs, conventional military aggression by Peking against South-East Asian countries is difficult and improbable, and the same applies even more strongly to nuclear threats or attack.

In 1954-55, at the time of the Bandung Conference, Peking was in search of Asian moral and diplomatic support to help it cope with American pressures of the kind exerted during the Korean War, if they should be resumed, to counterbalance the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), then newly formed, and to assist in making progress toward a settlement of the Taiwan question by political means.

Peking promised, in effect, that it would refrain from aggression or subversion (through local Communists or overseas Chinese) toward any country that abstained from or repudiated military ties of any kind with the United States and adopted a generally "friendly" attitude toward itself.

TWO CASE STUDIES

The adoption of this line was rendered easier by the fact that Communist insurgencies sponsored by Peking were not prospering in those South-East Asian countries where they had been tried, with the obvious exception of Vietnam. It is not at all clear that Peking considered the bargain still open after the leftward shift of 1958 in its outlook and strategy.

In any event, two case studies, those of Cambodia and Indonesia, suggest that the bargain is not a dependable one from the standpoint of the other country, and that to the extent that it is observed by Peking it may tend to get the other country into trouble.

No South-East Asian country, even North Vietnam, has gone as far in accommodating Peking as Cambodia did under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk. He evidently reasoned, or hoped, that by public praise and diplomatic support of Peking, which he regarded in any case as the "wave of the future" in South-East Asia, and by criticism of its adversaries, he could purchase economic and military aid, recognition of Cambodia's frontiers, deterrence of possible pressures from Cambodia's neighbours (Thailand, South Vietnam, and North Vietnam), and non-intervention in Cambodia's internal affairs through support for the Cambodian left or incitement of the Chinese community.

He went so far in following Peking's international line as to take the lead in pressing for its admission to the United Nations, denounce the nuclear test ban treaty, applaud the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, break diplomatic relations with the United States and Thailand, and criticize American policy in Vietnam.

NETWORK OF SANCTUARIES

He did indeed receive economic and military aid and recognition of Cambodia's frontiers from Peking (as well as from some other quarters). But the other, and probably more important, aspects of his implicit bargain with Peking, which contrary to his original expectations looked less and less like the "wave of the future" in the 1960s, proved much less attainable and dependable.

After the escalation fo the Vietnam war in 1964-65, Peking, whatever its original intentions may have been, did not in fact prevent North Vietnam from establishing and expanding a network of "sanctuaries" along the border between Cambodia and South Vietnam and from thus making nonsense of Cambodia's sovereignty in those areas.

Peking itself made extensive covert use of Sihanoukville and various routes across Cambodia as a means of sending aid direct to the Viet Cong. Sihanouk denied the existence of this situation, but whatever his true feelings toward it he must have been aware of it, although of course he could not control the process or even measure it.

Peking, furthermore, not only kept contact with but gave some support to the anti-Sihanouk Cambodian left, partly no doubt in order to keep Sihanouk on his best behaviour but mainly because Peking is deeply committed to the goal of "people's war," whatever the conntervailing considerations may be in a given case.

During the upsurge of revolutionary fervour known as the Cultural Revolution, Peking increased its involvement on behalf of the Cambodian left and its propaganda in support of the "thought" of Mao Tse-tung among the Cambodian Chinese and reacted sharply to Sihanouk's moves aimed at coping with this interference. A major crisis in Sino-Cambodian relations was probably averted only through a major shift in Chinese foreign policy toward moderation following the elimination of Red Guard influence from the Foreign Ministry in late August, 1967.

The fact that Chinese policy toward Cambodia remained essentially opportunistic became abundantly clear at the time of Sihanouk's overthrow in March, 1970, one of the causes of which was his appeasement of Peking and Hanoi. A few weeks later, with Sihanouk already a state guest in Peking and Chinese propaganda trying to capitalize on his downfall to increase Chinese influence on the Asian left, Peking opened secret negotiations with the Lon Nol government in Phnom Penh.

The Chinese side, according to later Cambodian statements, promised diplomatic recognition and continuation of the subsidy that previously been paid to Sihanouk in exchange for toleration of the "sanctuaries" and the route from Sihanoukville to South Vietnam.

U.S. SUPPORT FAVOURED

Instead, Phnom Penh opted for American rather than Chinese support, and Peking threw its weight, within limits dictated by considerations of risk and difficulties of geographic access, behind Sihanouk and his new ally, the Cambodian left. But in the revolutionary Cambodian coalition sponsored by Peking, Sihanouk appears to be nothing but a facade, outweighed by his former adversaries and dependent for any improvement in his situation on his Chinese hosts, who are not known for their sympathy with losers.

An accommodation with Peking of a rather different kind was attempted by Indonesia under Sukarno, after 1960. Here the purpose was not so much to ward off Peking's subversive pressures or the designs of hostile neighbours, neither of which was a serious problem, as to form an anti-Western coalition that would provide a vehicle for the expansion of Indonesian influence in South-East Asia and indeed the entire Third World.

Peking took advantage of the relationship to encourage Sukarno's increasingly leftist domestic policies, including his friendship for the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and his distaste for the more conservatively minded army leadership. According to Sukarno, speaking in the spring of 1965, it was Chou En-lai who first urged him to form what came to be known as a "Fifth Force," an armed and Communist-led movement designed initially to counterbalance and ultimately to combat the army.

FAILURE OF COUP

More than any other, it was this issue that increased political tension to the point where Sukarno began to plan with the PKI a *coup* against the army leadership, a *coup* that his sudden illness in August contributed to launching without proper preparation and with disastrous results for Sukarno himself, for the PKI, and for Peking's influence in Indonesia.

It is probably significant that the only countries with which Communist China has enjoyed consistently good relations over a period of years are remote ones; Albania and Tanzania come readily to mind. This suggests that, in view of Peking's ambitions in Asia, it may be impossible for any Asian State to purchase dependably good relations with it by any method short of total submission. But putting this disturbing possibility aside, let us try to reconstruct, on the basis of the entire record of Peking's pronouncements and behaviour to date, the steps that would be necessary to, although perhaps not sufficient

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for, the achievement of a state of accommodation with Peking that the latter would regard as tolerable on a long term basis.

Trade is only a minor factor in such a process. Peking is entirely willing to trade, for purely economic considerations, with countries whose governments it dislikes—although of course it is capable of trying to gain political advantage from trade—and commercial relations have had little effect if any to date in modifying Peking's basic political attitudes.

It is only in the political, not in the economic, realm that accommodation, a political concept, can be sought with any hope of success. The total list of requirements, as inferred from Peking's record to date, begins with articulate opposition to its *bêtes noires*, the United States, Japan, and the Soviet Union.

A type of neutrality must be adopted which avoids political and military ties not only with these but with other extra-regional powers, and even with regional States; Peking frowns on regional organizations and alignments. The result, obviously, would tend to be a posture of isolation. Foreign aid should be sought and accepted only from Afro-Asian States (including China).

Friendship for China must be expressed not only in the diplomatic realm, but through explicit official approval of Chinese domestic and foreign policy and the "thought" of Mao Tse-tung. A level of Chinese interference in one's domestic affairs that may or may not be regarded locally as tolerable but is considered in Peking as sufficient to keep open the option of a "people's war" in the future must be accepted. To some extent, Chinese advice regarding domestic and foreign policy must be taken.

It is of course possible that in the current, post-Cultural Revolution, phase of Chinese foreign policy, a temporary accommodation can be had at a lower price than this. But the record indicates that even at the full price accommodation is not dependable. For Peking's ultimate goal for Asia, however remote, is a coalition of Communist-controlled States under leading, if not necessarily dominant, Chinese influence.

In coping with Communist China, the States of South-East Asia face serious geopolitical handicaps (China's size and central location, balanced however by its difficulty of access to South-East Asia) and political disadvantages (the effectiveness of Leninist political organization and strategy which, however, requires time and favourable conditions to take root). On the other hand there are reasons for doubting that accommodation and ultimate Chinese domination are South-East Asia's unavoidable fate in dealing with Peking.

One is that Chinese capabilities and policy are not immutable. Since the Cultural Revolution, Peking is more involved than ever in its own domestic affairs, and the result may be significantly to diminish the attention and power than it can bring to bear on its dealings with South-East Asia.

Furthermore, its distractions elsewhere in its own eyes at any rate, have seldom if ever been more pressing: the Soviet threat to the north and the Japanese resurgence to the east. These problems seem to have passed the point up to which they tend to make Peking seek compensation to the south and to have become a force driving Peking to make concessions to its southern neighbours for the sake of their sympathy and support.

In short, the South-East Asian States appear to be in a position to bargain, rather than being under the necessity of accommodating in the hope of avoiding some otherwise inevitable disaster. It goes without saying that any such bargaining needs to be done with a full understanding of its implications and of the history of Peking's previous dealings in South-East Asia.

By cultivating their own internal stability and the current trend toward regional co-operation, the South-East Asian States can put themselves in a good position to operate within the international environment that seems both more desirable and more likely, after a possibly unpleasant period of transition, than the hypothetical possibility of Chinese hegemony—a multilateral balance of power in which the main extra-regional roles are played by the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China, and the regional roles of course by the South-East Asian States themselves.

In such an environment, no State should or need compromise the autonomy of its domestic or foreign policy through an unwise and unnecessary effort to accommodate Peking or any other power.

Foreign Affairs

THE NIXON DOCTRINE AND THAILAND

IN an address on the "Economic Implications of the Nixon Doctrine in Thailand," the United States Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Leonard Unger, told an International Management Seminar in Bangkok that the U.S. would avoid unacceptable risks which could come from reducing its military and other presences in Asia too rapidly.

"Therefore, our military and economic aid may actually increase for the next few years," he said.

The following is part of Ambassador Unger's March 2 address—

"The Nixon Doctrine is a commitment to peace through partnership. As enunciated by President Nixon in Guam in 1969, and redefined in his report to Congress last year entitled "A New Strategy for Peace," its central thesis is that the United States will participate in the defence and development of its friends and allies, but that America cannot—and should not try to carry on this task virtually alone.

We will help where our assistance can make a real difference, where it is desired, and where it is judged to be in our national self-interest. Thailand is a country, incidentally, where mutual assistance and cooperation with the United States considerably antedated the formulation of the Nixon Doctrine.

The United States is, and intends to remain, a Pacific power. We have responsibilities, which we intend to keep, to the Pacific community. Finally, we have resources, which we intend to share, to support a peaceful and meaningful revolution in the quality of life in the nations of the Pacific region.

As the President has stated, America cannot live in isolation if America expects to live in peace. The only issue before us is how we can be most effective in meeting our responsibilities, protecting our interests, and building a just and lasting peace.

The Nixon Doctrine depends on a strong private sector as a factor in self-reliance and as a contributor to full national development. At the same time, business and commercial activities can only be successful in an economic and political environment which is stable and secure. But we do not seek economic stability at the price of economic stagnation; political security at the price of political senility.

We seek—together with our friends and allies—a cooperative community of free nations, an international partnership sharing responsibilities and sharing resources, a multi-national commitment to the achievement of a better life for all our peoples. Our policies will not be tested, nor our lofty goals realized, in a world static and sedentary, but in a future which is dynamic and full or change.

The partnership which we seek in Thailand, in Asia, and throughout the world, has an economic dimension equally as significant as its political dimension.

President Nixon has just outlined, in his speech on February 25, his international economic policy and identified its goals. Let me recall those to you as an introduction to my more specific comments about the implications of the Nixon Doctrine in Thailand. The President said the United States intends the following:

- "—Found our global economic relations on a strong domestic base. International economic policy begins at home.
- "—Improve the management of our international economic relations. We will look to the new Council on International Economic Policy to integrate our governmental efforts and blend our domestic and foreign economic policies. ➡

- "—Improve the means by which national economies can adjust to each other in a world of increased economic interdependence. We must work with others to solidify and further improve the world monetary system.

- "—Help promote the development of lower income countries. We will seek Congressional approval of our new foreign assistance programme and apply its principles of partnership with recipients and other donors alike.

- "—Defend and encourage liberal trade policies abroad and at home. Fresh policies and enlightened partnership with our friends will be required to stem protectionism, solve the problems that feed it and regain momentum toward a world of freer commerce."

Now I would like to examine more fully those points which are most relevant to our interests here today. Recognizing that freer trade among all nations provides greater economic benefits for each nation, the United States has proposed a liberal system of tariff preferences for the exports of developing countries. Low-income countries need increased export earnings to finance the imports needed for development. They need improved access for their products to the massive markets of the industrialized nations.

Since the demand for most primary commodities, which make up their traditional exports, grows relatively slowly, these export increases must come largely in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. The United States proposal, as stated at the United Nations last fall, calls for industrialized nations to eliminate their tariffs on most such goods, as well as on 94 primary products. These primary products had a trade value of $360 million in 1967 for the developing countries.

The plan calls for a simple system, without ceilings on preferential imports, and would provide for the gradual elimination, by 1975, of reverse preferences by some developing countries in favour of former metropolitan powers. Thailand, as a country with budding industries and rich primary products, would be among the nations most likely to benefit from these proposals, and investors, present and potential, should take this into accounts.

Another major new initiative to encourage the freer flow of capital and goods between nations has been the untying of American aid loans and the U.S. encouragement of other donor nations to take similar measures. On this initiative, considerable progress has been made in achieving a workable consensus among the industrialized countries...

The U.S. foreign assistance programme has come under review in the context of the goals and objectives of the Nixon Doctrine. Our assistance programme, the President has pointed out, must serve the future rather than simply continue to reflect the habits of the past. The Peterson Task Force Report on International Development, submitted to the President in March, 1970 has served as the basis for subsequent Presidential recommendations.

The Report called on the U.S. to channel an increasing share of its assistance through such organizations as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank and the United Nations Development Programme. In the 70s, then, multilateral institutions can be expected to play an increasing role in the provision of aid.

Support for other initiatives

In this way we can support the initiatives of other nations, enlist the expertise of international agencies, and minimize the political and ideological complications which can distort the assistance relationship.

This redirection of aid has already begun. Legislation signed by the President two months ago authorized an increase in the U.S. capital subscription to the World Bank by $246 million. The President has just asked the new Congress to take prompt action to authorize a $100 million contribution to the Asian Development Bank's special fund.

In so doing, the President praised the Bank's role, saying it had become a major source of capital and technical assistance to meet the needs of Asian countries. He will also propose that Congress authorize $320 million as the first installment in a three-year programme to replenish the funds of the International Development Association.

In addition to helping to increase the financial resources of the large international organizations, the U.S. will cooperate fully in their programme activities.

Thus the U.S. intends to play an active role in the reactivated Consultative Group for Thailand established by the World Bank to organize and promote foreign assistance for Thailand's third Five-Year Development Plan. The U.S. also welcomes the decision of the World Bank to establish an office in Bangkok to facilitate closer identification with and participation in the massive Mekong Basin Development programme.

The new role that the United Nations Development Programme is assuming in developing countries to prepare country profiles and to coordinate the numerous technical assistance activities of the specialized agencies should improve efficiency and effectiveness. The creation here in Thailand of the Development Assistance Group consisting of representatives of donor countries and international organizations meeting together with officials of the Thai Government is another step toward improved coordination.

Other aspects of the reorganized foreign assistance programme... include the level and duration of U.S. aid appropriations. The President has agreed with the Peterson Report that the downward trend of U.S. contributions to the development effort should be reversed. In his budget request for 1972, the President has proposed that the Agency for International Development receive an appropriations increase.

In Asia, the United States intends to avoid unacceptable risks which could come from reducing our military and other presences here too rapidly. Therefore, our military and economic aid may actually increase for the next few years. Congress supported this point of view when it quickly passed the supplemental appropriations bill early this year, nearly $500 million of which was earmarked for Asia.

We know that international development is a long-term process, and U.S. institutions, like multilateral lending institutions, should have an assured source of long-term funding. When the President proposed the establishment of a new International Development Corporation to administer our bilateral lending programme he also proposed to give it stability through a multiyear appropriation and authority to provide loans with differing maturities and differing interest rates, tailored to the requirements of individual borrowers.

Basic to all of this is the American conviction, inherent in the Nixon Doctrine, that Asian hands must shape the Asian future. Economic aid must be related to the total pattern of a nation's life and must support the unique aspirations of each people. Its purpose is to encourage self-reliance, not to foster dependence...

In its development plans, Thailand has chosen to rely heavily on private enterprise, at the same time recognizing the responsibility of the government to help create an environment which is congenial to investment and industrial growth. The continued reliance on private enterprise is evident in the third development plan now being prepared by the Thai Government.

During the five-year period covered by the plan, they expect an inflow of private capital of approximately $ 500 million. In fact, the Board of Investment sponsorship and participation by senior Thai Government officials in this seminar is a manifestation of the government's determination to support private enterprise growth.

Co-operation between U.S. agencies

One of the first steps in the overall U.S. aid programme reorganization was the establishment of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation which formally began operations on January 19. OPIC, as it is called, will take over and build on the programmes to stimulate U.S. private investment in less-developed countries previously administered by AID's Office of Private Resources.

While the Corporation is an independent agency of the U.S. Government, like AID, it operates under the policy guidance of the Secretary of State. There will be close cooperation with AID at the operating level, and here in Thailand USOM will continue to have primary responsibility for our assistance to private sector development...

In today's world, there is no such thing as a static peace or a stagnant order. To stand still is to build pressures that are bound to explode. Peace today must be a dynamic process which recognizes the universal aspirations of mankind, satisfies his material needs, and fulfills his spirit. This is the challenge to American free enterprise: to play the constructive role in that process which I know it can play, to its own benefit and to the benefit of our two countries.

U.S. STATEMENT ON VIETNAM'S LAOS OPERATIONS

American role limited to air and artillery support

A United States State Department communique issued in Washington on February 8 outlined policy considerations involved in the U.S. decision to give American air and artillery support to the South Vietnamese operation in southern Laos.

The following is the text of the U.S. statement:

"Last evening the Government of the Republic of Vietnam announced in Saigon that elements of its armed forces have crossed into enemy-occupied territory of Laos to attack North Vietnamese forces and military supplies which have been assembled in sanctuaries close to the border of South Vietnam.

These sanctuaries lie between the 16th and 17th parallels and comprise concentrations which are an important part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail system.

Our military command in Vietnam has announced the limits of the U.S. military participation.

Bid to cut off supplies

The decision of the United States to assist is based on the following policy considerations:

1—No American ground combat forces or advisers will cross into Laos.

2—The operation will be a limited one both as to time and area. The Vietnamese Government has made it clear that its objective will be to disrupt those forces which have been concentrated in this region for use against South Vietnamese and U.S. forces located in the northern military regions of South Vietnam, and to intercept or choke off the flow of supplies and men during the dry season which are designed for use further south on the Ho Chi Minh Trail in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

3—The operation will promote the security and safety of American and allied forces in South Vietnam and is consistent with statutory requirements. It will make the enemy less able to mount offensives and strengthen South Vietnam's ability to defend itself as U.S. forces are withdrawn from South Vietnam. It will protect American lives.

4—This ground operation by the South Vietnamese against the sanctuaries thus will aid in the Vietnamization programme. The withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam will continue. During the month of April, President Nixon will announce further withdrawals.

5—The measures of self-defence being taken by the Republic of Vietnam are fully consistent with international law. A report to this effect is being made by the Republic of Vietnam to the President of the Security Council of the United Nations, to the Geneva co-Chairmen, and to the governments which comprise the International Control Commission.

Combat area since 1965

6—This limited operation is not an enlargement of the war. The territory involved has been the scene of combat since 1965. The principal new factor is that South Vietnam forces will move against the enemy on the ground to deny him the sanctuaries and disrupt the main artery of supplies which he has been able to use so effectively against American and South Vietnamese forces in the past. ➡

LAOS (blacked in area)

7—The United States has consistently sought to end the conflict in Indochina through negotiations. President Nixon specifically proposed last October that there be (a) a ceasefire throughout Indochina, (b) a negotiated timetable for the withdrawal of all forces, (c) immediate release of all prisoners of war, (d) an international peace conference for all of Indochina, and (e) a political settlement. This continues to be the policy of the United States.

Neutrality violated

8—The Royal Lao Government has issued a statement, which while critical of the current military action, points out that the "primary responsibility for this development rests on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), which has violated international law and the 1962 Geneva Agreements. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has violated and is continuing to violate the neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos."

The U.S. Government continues to favour the neutrality of Laos and the restoration of the situation contemplated by the 1962 Geneva Accords in which all foreign forces would be withdrawn from Lao territory. A new Indochina conference as proposed by President Nixon could accomplish this objective.

New Zealand's reaction: Turn to Page 20

Cambodian success influenced Nixon

By Alexander M. Sullivan

WASHINGTON—*The success of last year's operation against Communist-held sanctuaries in Cambodia influenced President Nixon's decision to provide supplementary air support for the South Vietnamese foray into Laos, White House officials say.*

Uppermost in the President's mind was the security and safety of American troops in South Vietnam as he steadily reduces the U.S. presence there.

Since the Cambodia operation was completed last June 30, American casualties in South Vietnam have dropped sharply. The United States is in the last stages of withdrawing 100,000 troops, to be completed by May, when the U.S. force level will drop to 284,000.

White House officials say the Cambodian sanctuary operation closed a major Communist infiltration route from North Vietnam funnelling through the Cambodian port of Kompong Sam (formerly Sihanoukville); increased the confidence and skills of the Army of South Vietnam (ARVN), and prevented what appeared to be a major attack against American forces in the Saigon area (central South Vietnam).

The sanctuary operation also set back North Vietnamese stockpiling operations by at least six months, the officials believe.

The operation in Laos—which differs markedly from the Cambodian sweep in that no American combat ground forces nor military advisers have crossed into Laos—was under discussion for some time in Saigon and Washington.

The decision to go ahead was decided upon in January by American and South Vietnamese officials when it became apparent that the North Vietnamese were massing supplies in the southern panhandle of Laos.

The geographic scope of the South Vietnamese operation involves an areas that has been the scene of combat for years.

LAOS

Sir Keith Holyoake... Blames the North Vietnamese for Laos crisis.

HANOI CAUSED CRISIS, SAYS SIR KEITH

IN a statement on Laos issued from Wellington on February 8, the New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Keith Holyoake, said: "I have been informed of the reasons for the action taken by South Vietnam and I accept them".

He was commenting on reports that South Vietnamese troops with American air support were attacking North Vietnamese forces and supply lines in southern Laos.

"Any extension of the fighting is to be regretted," said Sir Keith. "In fact, however, Laos has long been involved in the war, as a result of actions by the North Vietnamese."

For years the Communists had been using Laotian territory as a corridor for sending troops and supplies from North to South Vietnam, the Prime Minister went on.

As the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home who was a co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, had pointed out in the British House of Commons, the North Vietnamese had flagrantly violated the obligation they undertook in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 to respect the territorial integrity and the neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos.

In the past few months they had been using Laotian territory more than ever, Sir Keith continued. Men and supplies had been pouring down the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail and Communist forces in southern Laos had been built up to an unprecedented level, and this at a time when the United States was steadily withdrawing its troops from South Vietnam.

"It has been plain for some time that the conflicts in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are merely different fronts of the same war," said the Prime Minister. "The source of the problem in each of the three countries is the same—North Vietnam's refusal to respect the rights of its neighbours, or to let them live in peace.

"In April of last year I pointed to the danger that hostilities could quickly come to involve the whole Indochina area, and I suggested that an international conference should be called, at which all parties could be represented, to work out a regional settlement.

"That suggestion was taken up by President Nixon who formally proposed in October a standstill ceasefire throughout Indochina, followed by an international conference.

"Hanoi rejected the President's proposals out of hand", Sir Keith recalled. "It has refused to enter into serious negotiations until its own quite unreasonable conditions are met.

"I can only hope that the North Vietnamese leaders will now realize that they have more to gain by taking up President Nixon's offer than by continuing to pursue their objectives by force and so inflicting untold suffering on the peoples of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos," the statement ended.

THE AGONY OF THE FREEDOM SWIM

By
Brian Moynahan

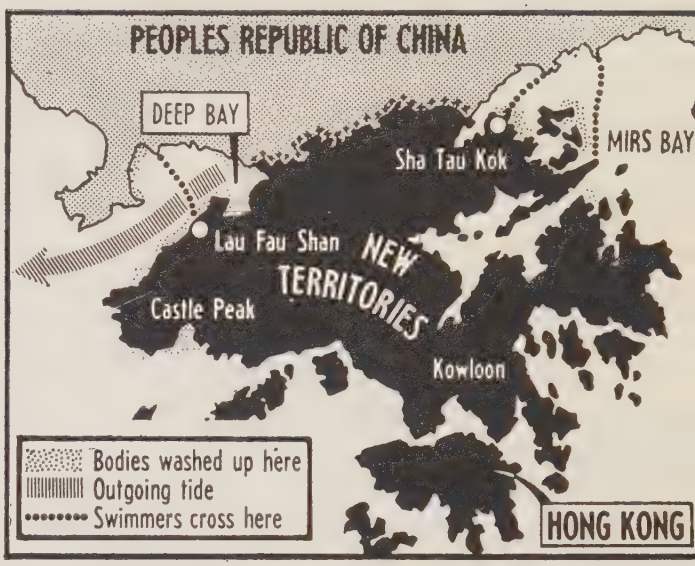
IN November 58 corpses were washed up on the shores of Hong Kong. It was a fairly average number for the time of year, but it falls off gradually until the warmer weather comes. The refugees from Communist China who are not got out by winter have to wait for the next swimming season in September.

The "freedom swimmers" are the most desperate escapers in the world. Held afloat by pigs' bladders or basketballs, they face a five to ten hour swim in swirling tides before they reach the New Territories of Hong Kong.

People are so used to the bodies now in Hong Kong that their appearance scarcely rates a paragraph in the newspapers: "A freedom swimmer was found on a beach near Tsunswan. The dead man, aged about 25, was dressed only in blue slacks. His face was almost completely eaten away by fish."

But the numbers are going up. Figures for a four-week period in late October and early November show that 280 swimmers got to Hong Kong and registered with the police, and 72 bodies were washed ashore in Hong Kong waters. For every one of these, at least 10 are either caught on the mainland, drowned, swept out to sea, or avoid the Hong Kong police.

The swimmers are all in their teens and twenties. The vast majority are students, sent from the cities of China to work in small communes in the countryside—part of the Going to The Land to Learn From the Masses movement. Millions—how many millions nobody knows—have been exiled like this.



● **"Freedom swimmers" from Communist China face fast-running tides in Deep Bay, or a marathon across Mirs Bay.**

The peasants dislike the students. The feeling is generally mutual. "I had to work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and for over a year they made me clean latrines and dig ditches," says a student who is now working in a Hong Kong chemists. "In the evenings there were three hours of studying the thoughts of Chairman Mao. I decided to get out. There were no maps of Hong Kong, but I walked south for eight days, and hid above the shore for three. Then I swam."

There are other reasons for hopelessness which meet with less luck. Men cannot marry on the communes until they are 30, women until they are 25. In November a young girl, Poon Yuenchong, kept her 22-year-old lover's head above water for nine hours as she swam across. Police doctors established that he had died six hours before she reached Lau Fau Shan.

The swimmers pass the point of no return the moment they leave their communes (mainly in Kwantung province which borders on Hong Kong). Without ration or identity cards they become non-people, liable for deportation to the wild North-eastern provinces. ➡

The Agony of the Freedom Swim

Few make it as far south as the mountains on the border. They move only at night and avoid villages, but the People's Liberation Army patrols are constant and efficient.

The swimmers face a devil's choice as they hide in the bare rough hills that spike along the border. To the east is Mirs Bay, wild and desolate and very wide. Few know that the currents are favourable.

Deep Bay looks much better from the mountains. It is, in fact, very shallow—much of it seems walkable at low tide. It is also narrow, only three miles across in parts. And the beacon at Lau Fau Shan attracts them like moths, because they must swim at night to avoid the Chinese gun junk patrols.

Deep Bay, then, tempts most, and it receives most attention from barbed wire, dogs, and patrols. Last November a girl, Muk Shau-ching, was the only one of a group of 30 to make it to the beach—"the dogs came and discovered us, and the others were shot on the beach or captured." But it is no place to be in the water for poor swimmers already exhausted by the trek south and the strain of hiding.

It has a deep central channel. After high tide the currents sweep strongly off the shallows, pouring into the channel and out into the South China Sea at three knots and more. The swimmers should enter the water west of Lau Fau Shan two hours before high tide, to be carried east in time to cross the channel at high water, and then be carried back west on the current to the Hong Kong shore. But they have no charts; they slip into the water when the border guards pass and often the tidal sets carry them out to sea.

The peninsula on the western side of Deep Bay is the best entry point, but it is heavily guarded across its neck and—falsely—appears to be too close to open sea for safety. The swimmers avoid it. They concentrate on the shoreline further to the east.

The Lau Fau Shan light seems closer, the waters more calm. In fact, if they set off from there on an incoming tide they will be forced along the bay on the Communist side, and on an outgoing tide, the sea will take them quickly.

Sixty were picked up by Hong Kong police at Lau Fau Shan one day in October—the high number was caused, said the police, by favourable currents during the night. Normally the currents are unfriendly.

The refugees who do not drown are caught on the oyster beds and reefs, dull black and razor-sharp in the mud, which fill the bay. A girl swimmer almost bled to death from severe cuts last November; she was in hospital for 19 days.

The Communist militia use the oyster beds for people they catch—"Tsang Ngau was killed first," said one stark newspaper report of a recent incident. "A militia man threw him to the floor of the gun junk, put a rifle to his head and shot him. His two sons were tortured. Ping-nang and Ching-ho were kicked, stabbed and beaten with rifle butts. They were tied and thrown over the side. They were then dragged over the oyster beds. The bodies were left to rot on the mainland."

Or else they simply shoot out the air-bags—a punctured baseball makes for less fuss in Hong Kong than a bullet in a body.

The Hong Kong police seldom send back refugees. Unlike the famine of 1962, when 2,000 had to be returned in one day, it is said that only serving soldiers or senior party members are deported back. But there are Communist villages on both sides of Lau Fau Shan; fishing hamlets like Shakiu.

Its red flags, little red books, its evening singing of the East is Red are all oblivious to the corpses that have drifted from the promised land into its beaches. Any swimmer caught there will be taken a mile out into the Bay on a junk and handed over to the militia.

From December until the next swimming season in September, the number of refugees will be savagely cut to those who can afford the £100 to £400 to be smuggled in by the "snake boats"—junks from the mainland or Macao whose tired cargoes are dumped on the Colony's beaches where they walk snake-like in single file so the police will only see one set of footprints.

Deep Bay will be quiet under its hills, the junks and sampans working their way over the oyster beds, giving no hint that in November alone more people died there than have ever been killed on the dirty breeze block and wire of the Communist-erected Berlin Wall. *(Copyright: "Sunday Times", London).*

NEW ZEALAND HELPS RESETTLED THAIS

$US 25,000 aid provides dam for hill tribes

● A New Zealand grant of $US 25,000 to provide a dam at Ban Pa Klang, Northern Thailand, has ensured a brighter future for these youngsters who were interested watchers at the recent dam-opening ceremony.

KIWI GIFT UNDER SEATO AID SCHEME

New dam supports Thailand's counter-insurgency drive

NEW Zealand Day may fall on February 6 but for the 1,500 people of the Yao and Meo tribes now living at Ban Pa Klang, a hilltribe resettlement in the Northern Thai province of Nan, January 29 was their New Zealand Day.

For on that day the New Zealand Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Eric H. Halstead, performed the opening ceremony of a dam built with a grant of $US 25,000 from the New Zealand Government to overcome the resettlement's major problem of continual water shortage.

The money was given by New Zealand under its SEATO aid scheme to assist Thailand's counter-insurgency efforts. The 1,500 people of the Yao and Meo hill tribes now living at Ban Pa Klang were evacuated there in 1968 from their former homes on remote hills in Nan Province as a result of increased Communist terrorist activities.

HOPEFUL EMBLEM

A grant of $ US 9,000 made by SEATO in 1968 was used for the allotment of land, the provision of clothing, medical treatment and building material, and the construction of schools and wells. In May, 1970, the New Zealand Government offered to finance the construction of the 180-metre long dam and work began immediately to move the 100,000 cubic metres of earth required.

The dam will be able to store 150,000 cubic metres of water which will overcome the water shortage obstacle in crop planting and cultivation.

At the opening ceremony, the Nan Governor, Major General Srisakdi Thamarak, said that the dam had become a hopeful emblem for several future dam projects for the benefit of the local people.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

He stated: "The initiative by the New Zealand Government, which took an interest in the construction of this dam, will encourage further beneficial measures for the Thais in general, and will promote mutual understanding between the Thai and the New Zealand peoples to help create peace and tranquility of the peoples of South-East Asia, and to encourage them to integrate their will to fight against the aggressing Communists."

In his speech, Mr. Halstead said: "All human beings prefer to enjoy a free life, without exploitation of any kind by others. This help from the Government and the people of New Zealand is a symbol of our readiness to help others who wish to live in freedom.

"Although New Zealand and Thailand are far apart, we share your desire to live without the shadow of fear and force," he said.

ABOVE: Meo Hilltribes people perform traditional dances at the opening ceremony of the dam at Bang Pa Klang.

RIGHT: Mr. Eric H. Halstead, the New Zealand Ambassador to Thailand, distributes gifts to children from the Meo hilltribes when he opened the dam. Also offering gifts are SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol, Director of the Royal Thai Government Communist Suppression Operations Command.

LEFT: The New Zealand Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Eric H. Halstead (left), pushes the button which unveils a plaque at the water storage dam at the hilltribes resettlement centre at Ban Pa Klang. Also in the photograph are the Governor of Nan, Major General Srisakdi Thamarak (centre) and SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas.

BELOW: An aerial view of the dam with the resettlement village in the foreground.

DEFENCE

Soviet threat world-wide, says U.K. Government

BRITISH Prime Minister Edward Heath told the House of Commons on March 2 that the United Kingdom would continue to support SEATO and to deploy forces in Malaysia and Singapore. Mr. Heath gave the assurance while taking part in the Commons debate on defence.

The debate followed the publication of the British Government's White Paper on Defence which contains a warning that the Soviet Union is spreading its power and influence across the world.

In a review of Soviet strength around the globe, the White Paper points out that there are now "massive Russian forces" permanently stationed in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland. There is increasing naval activity in the North Atlantic and the Caribbean.

In the Mediterranean, the Soviet position has grown stronger through the scale of its penetration of the Arab world and the expansion of its fleet. The latest assessment is that Russia now has 30 surface ships, 10 submarines and 25 auxiliaries in the area.

There is also a build-up of Russian military capability in the Indian Ocean area in support of the political aim of gaining influence among the non-aligned countries at the expense of Western interests.

Five years ago there were no Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean. At one time last year there were seven surface warships, at least four submarines and nine auxiliaries.

Attempts to upset communications

Although Russia has shown a willingness to negotiate with the West on certain problems, renewed attempts to interfere with communications to Berlin have demonstrated that it would be unwise to assume that this indicates a change in basic Soviet objectives.

It remains to be seen whether the Russians are genuinely interested in solving the outstanding major issues or merely in Western endorsement of the *status quo* in Europe on Soviet terms.

"Western policies must, therefore, continue to be based on the twin concepts of defence and *detente*," continues the White Paper.

"The military strength of the alliance must be maintained at levels sufficient to deter aggression, whatever form it may take, at the same time as the Western countries are seeking to engage the Soviet Union and its allies in discussions which could lead to a real and lasting relaxation of tensions."

On the Government's East of Suez policy, the document states that good progress has been made towards setting up the five-Power defence arrange ments in Malaysia and Singapore. Ministers of the five governments—Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore—will meet in London in mid-April.

Additional vessels

The British military commitment to the defence arrangements will be deployed in the area during 1971-72. In addition to the force, previously announced, Britain will send a sixth frigate or destroyer.

The Royal Navy will also contribute one submarine to the Australian squadron. From 1972 onwards, other combat units will come into the area for maritime, jungle and air training.

It is planned that these units should include larger warships, a regular flow of major Army units, and the deployment for periods of Vulcan, Phantom and Buccaneer detachments.

British forces will, with those of Australia and New Zealand, come under the control of an integrated command headed by an officer of two-star rank.

THE ART OF MAKING MAPS

The 11th Meeting of the Cartographic Committee of SEATO's Military Planning Office, held in Bangkok from February 22-26, was attended by senior military cartographers from SEATO member nations. They discussed the progress being made in meeting the requirements of SEATO countries for maps and charts of the Treaty area.

As a postscript to that meeting, Lt. Col. R.M. Silberrad, R.E., Cartographer Officer, MPO, has written this article which traces the development of cartography and the recent advances made in map-making...

CARTOGRAPHY can briefly be defined as—*the art of making a map or chart which portrays part of the earth's surface in a manner which is intelligible to its user.* The earliest maps were highly decorative documents which often relied on their elaborate pictures of monsters, whales and dolphins to make up for their deficiency of accurate geographical detail.

Nevertheless some of these early products, particularly those of coastal regions which could be surveyed from the sea, show remarkable skill in capturing the general shape of the land mass and the positioning of mountains and rivers.

How gratifying it would be, for example, for Ptolemy or Mercator to participate in an Apollo voyage to the moon and confirm, with their own eyes, their findings as to the shape of the Mediterranean and North East Africa !

The greatest problem which has always, and always will, face cartographers is that of portraying the round (or nearly round) surface of the earth on a flat sheet of paper, in the form of a map or chart.

The problem can be likened to peeling an orange and attempting to flatten the skin. Cut into small pieces, it is reasonably practicable to flatten each piece without distorting it too much, the bigger the piece the more difficult it is to flatten it. The cartographer makes use of map projections, based on mathematical formulae to do his flattening.

Mercator was a pioneer in this field and it is to him that we owe the popular "Mercator's Projection" used in most small-scale maps of the world, and a modified form of this projection is the "Universal Transverse Mercator" projection, commonly known as UTM, with which all soldiers, sailors and airmen of SEATO nations will be familiar.

In order to carry out a survey of an area, let us say an island such as Britain, which we can reasonably consider in isolation for all initial practical purposes, it is necessary, firstly, to establish a framework, or skeleton on which we can hang the flesh of the survey in the same way in which the flesh of the human body hangs on its skeleton of bones.

Traditionally this survey skeleton has been made by measuring a base line between two points on the ground with extreme accuracy. The base line would be in the order of seven miles long and the distance between its terminals would have been determined using invar tapes, suspended in catenary curves between successive tripods, to an accuracy of, perhaps, two parts in one million or something like an inch over the entire seven miles.

Measurement to this accuracy was a slow and painstaking task, involving the application of corrections to the tape readings for temperature and making allowances for the changes in slope along the profile of the ground being measured. However, the distance would be measured, both backwards and forwards, usually in feet one way and in metres the other, so as to obtain two independent sets of reading which could be compared the one to the other by applying the accepted conversion factor from feet to metres. Failure to agree within the tolerance permitted would involve re-measurement!

Having measured the base line the next step would be determination of the geographical position of each end of it and also its alignment. This was done by astronomical observations, over many nights, of sets of stars. Using very accurate instruments and repeated readings the relative positions would be determined to within a few feet on the surface of the earth, as measured in terms of latitude and longitude, and the bearing between the two points would be know to an accuracy better than one tenth of one second of arc.

With the base line now measured, located on the earth's surface and with its azimuth (or bearing) known, angles would be measured from each terminal to other points, probably some 15 miles distant on hilltops. Theodolites would be used for this purpose and these theodolites would then be moved to the new points, or stations as they are called by surveyors, in order to measure the angle subtended by the ends of the base line.

With all the angles of the triangles now measured, and checked to add up to 180 degrees, and the length of one side also known, it was a simple mathematical calculation to determine the lengths of the other sides and, from this, to determine the positions of the new stations vis-a-vis the ends of the base. At this stage it was, and still is, normal to make use of a grid reference system, such as the Universal Transverse Mercator to give point references.

From the new triangulation stations more points were fixed, until the expanding network covered the entire area to be mapped. But the stations would consist only of points separated by some 20 miles of unmapped country. The next stage was to fill in some of the distances between the first, or primary, stations with more observations to fix secondary stations some 10 miles apart and from these to fix tertiary stations only four or five miles apart; the accuracy of observations to fix the secondary and tertiary stations becoming progressively less demanding.

Finally, working from the tertiary stations surveyors would carry out observations to the geographical features which it was considered necessary to portray on the map, e.g. the corners of buildings, hilltops, bends in roads and streams and so on. In addition to working in the two dimensions fixing the plan, or grid position of features, the surveyor would work out heights and thereby determine the altitude of hill tops and would draw on his map lines of equal height, which we know as contours.

Clearly this traditional method of survey was somewhat slow and, in fact, it took about 50 years to complete the detailed survey of Great Britain at a scale of six inches to one mile. It is not surprising, therefore, that a very high percentage of the earth's land surface is still to be surveyed even at scales much smaller than this.

A great step forward in speeding the work of surveying was the introduction of air photography which is now almost universally used by modern cartographers. By photographing the ground from an aircraft flying at a fixed altitude along parallel straight lines, set at the right distance apart, it is possible to obtain complete photographic cover of a large area of country in a single sortie.

These photographs can then be used by a cartographer in his office, at his leisure, and without further deference to the weather. If the photographs have been taken so that each part of the ground is taken from at least two differing angles it is possible for the cartographer to view the picture of the ground in a stereoscopic, or three-dimensional manner, thereby not only making his interpretation of the photography much easier, but enabling him to measure heights and draw contours.

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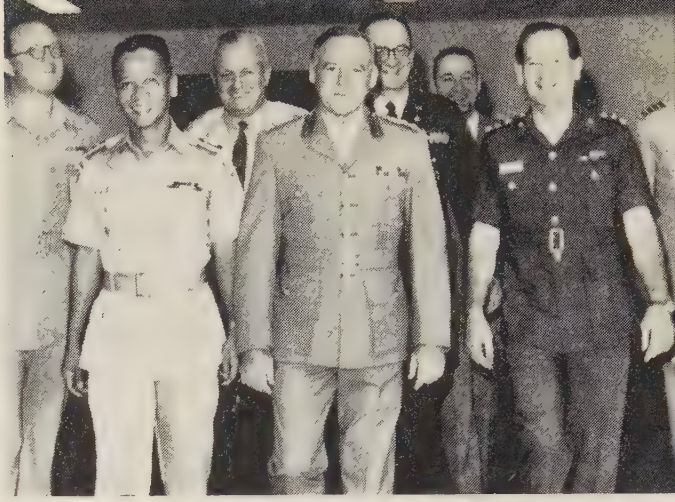
THE ART OF MAKING MAPS



● *Senior mappers from SEATO member natious pictured at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, before the opening of the 11th Meeting of the Cartographic Committee of SEATO's Military Planning Office. Left to right: Lt. Col. R.M. Silberrad, Cartographic Officer, SEATO MPO; Lt. Col. Adolfo Eufemio (Philippines); Col. W.S. Boyes (New Zealand), Col. F.O. Buckland (Australia); Col. Lloyd L. Rall (United States); Monsieur Rene Cuenine (France); Col. R.E. Atkey (U.K.) and Gp. Capt. Bashir-ul-Hasan, the CENTO observer to the meeting.*

The development of colour photography and the partial automation of the making of maps from air photographs has still further speeded the operation of detail survey, as this clothing of the skeloton framework is known.

The next recent advance in survey was the development of electronic methods of measuring distances, replacing the tedious business of taping along the base line. An electronic distance-measuring instrument can measure distances of up to 20 miles in a matter of hours, as opposed to several weeks spent in taping a few miles.

Basically the instrument consists of a transmitter located over one end of the base line which sends a pulse to another instrument at the far end. The pulse is re-transmitted back along the base line and, by measuring the time elapsed, the distance can be calculated. Modern instruments are just as accurate as the taping method, with a tremendous saving in time achieved.

In fact, it is so easy mowadays to measure distances that the traditional system of triangulation (measuring the angles of a triangle) is frequently replaced by trilateration (measuring all the sides, and no angles).

The latest and most dramatic advance is from the use of satellites which can help the surveyor to fix his position more simply, more accurately and more speedily than the use of stars. Futhermore satellite observations have done much to assist in determining the true shape of the earth and the relative position on its surface of the continents and remote islands, which could not be accurately known before—the impact of this on modern warfare, with rockets covering ranges of many thousands of miles must be obvious.

We have now seen how the detail survey work is carried out and the cartographer's next task is to draw the map in the accordance with the specification he is to work to. Conventional signs are used to portray such features as roads, bridges, railway lines, ports and so forth. Furthermore the names of towns and other features such as international boundaries must be determined and added in the proper way. To do this the cartographer will need, whenever possible, to visit the area being mapped.

While visiting the survey area the cartographer will take the opportunity of checking his draft map as best he may. This is of particular importance when air survey has been used in its compilation since clouds may have obscured part of the ground in the air photographs, or the shadows of high mountains may have made it difficult to observe some detail.

Once all the information is to hand and is checked the map can be "fair drawn", that is re-drawn in the manner in which it is to be published. All the geographical detail will have been expressed in conventional form, which the user can understand, perhaps with the use of his marginal notes.

If the map is to be printed in more than one colour a separate drawing will be required for each colour to be printed. From these drawings a photographic process is used to make printing plates and these plates are, in turn, used to print each colour, successively, on the final map sheet. Modern map printing presses will produce up to 6,000 copies an hour.

Strictly speaking the work of the cartographer is completed as the printed maps come off the press, but there remains the problem of their storage and distribution—be it through wholesalers and retail shops for maps for sale to the public, or through armed service depots for maps for the armed forces.

Clearly the SEATO Military Planning Office is concerned with the latter aspect, since it wishes to ensure that not only does the necessary mapping and charting exist but that it exists in the right quantities, stored in the right place, and this was a matter for discussion at the 11th Meeting of the Cartographic Committee.

U.S. DEFENCE REPORT

Laird assesses Communists' war potential in Asia

UNITED States Defence Secretary Melvin Laird, in a "defence posture report" to the House Armed Services Committee of Congress on March 9, assessed the Communist threat in South-East Asia and the rest of Asia.

The following are extracts from his report—

THE THEATRE AND SUB-THEATRE THREAT IN ASIA

"Our Asian allies and friends are faced with a threat that differs somewhat from that posed to NATO by the Warsaw Pact. The forces of the Peoples Republic of China, North Korea, and North Vietnam are able to engage in subversive and small-scale guerrilla attacks in bordering States, as well as being capable of mounting full-scale conventional attacks in adjoining countries.

These forces, therefore, pose both a potential theatre conventional threat, and a sub-theatre threat. This should be kept in mind as we address the total forces available to China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.

In addition, the Soviet forces in Asia... must be considered as part of the theatre threat in Asia.

Communist China, however, poses the principal general purpose force threat in Asia. The Chinese army consists of approximately 2.5 million personnel, organized into a total of more than 140 combat divisions. The air force, (including the navy's air arm) consists of more than 4,000 aircraft, of which most are jet fighters, and a small fleet of about 300 jet bombers. The navy's main offensive strength centres upon a growing force of more than 40 attack submarines, a number of which are of the medium-range R-class; and increasing numbers of guided missile patrol boats. Chinese production or army ordnance, new guided missile destroyers and advanced jet fighter aircraft are contributing to a rapid modernization of the general purpose forces.

The People's Republic of China could conduct major offensive operations in four non-Communist areas: South Korea, Taiwan, South-East Asia and India. While the Chinese have the largest land military force in the world, a commitment of forces in conventional military operations on more than one front would impose serious burdens on their available logistic resources, and is considered unlikely today, given China's limited logistic capabilities and its border problems with the Soviets.

Such an effort would be possible only if there were no interdiction of China's lines of communications (LOC's) and capacity to make war.

Of course, in addition to the potential of its regular combat forces, China has significant ability to promote and support subversion and insurgency in peripheral areas.

North Korea poses another significant threat in Asia. The country's general purpose forces are relatively modern in structure and equipment and have attained a high rate of combat readiness...

The North Vietnamese theatre and sub-theatre threat in South-East Asia is significantly different from other threats in Asia since a portion of its force already is engaged in actual combat. We must, how-

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McMAHON TAKES OVER AS AUSTRALIA'S LEADER

William McMahon sworn in as Australia's Prime Minister

WILLIAM McMahon was sworn in as Australia's new Prime Minister on March 10. He took over from Mr. John Gorton.

Mr. McMahon became Prime Minister after a vote of confidence in Mr. Gorton was taken at a Liberal Party meeting. The vote was tied at 33-all and Mr. Gorton, as Chairman of the meeting, gave the casting vote against himself.

Australia's new leader, who was born in Sydney on February 23, 1908, was elected to the House of Representatives for the new seat of Lowe, New South Wales, in 1949, and was re-elected in 1951, 1954, 1955, 1958, 1961, 1963, 1966 and 1969. He was Minister for the Navy and Minister for Air from 1951 to 1954, Minister for Social Services from 1954 to 1956, Minister for Primary Industry from 1956 to 1958, Minister for Labour and National Service from 1958 to 1966, Treasurer from 1966 to 1969 and was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in November, 1969. He was Vice-President of the Executive Council from June, 1964, to January, 1966.

Laird's assessment

ever, recognize the full dimensions of the military threat that could be posed by the North Vietnamese in South-East Asia.

The army has a total in-country strength of 315,000 and is organized into 13-14 division/commands. The navy is relatively small and consists primarily of motor guns and torpedo boats. The North Vietnamese have a total of more than 200 fighter and attack aircraft in the air force. While most of these are MIG-15/17/19'S, a significant number are MIG-21S...

THE IMMEDIATE SUB-THEATRE THREAT IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The actual deployment of a substantial portion (roughly half) of the North Vietnamese army in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, along with the North Vietnamese support of local Communist forces (Viet Cong, Khmer Communist, and Pathet Lao) in these countries, provides the immediate threat to our friends and allies in South-East Asia. In South Vietnam we believe there are a total of at least 240,000 Viet Cong and North Vietnamese personnel actually deployed.

The major threat to friendly forces in South Vietnam continues to be posed by those VC/NVA forces just north of the DMZ, in the southern Laos panhandle and in the northern two provinces of Military Region 1.

The principal Communist threat in South Vietnam is the enemy's continued capability to launch a major, multi-regimental-level operation. In other areas, we believe the enemy will retain the capability of causing serious but temporary disruptions by launching significant, isolated attacks if he commits the bulk of available forces...

Communist strength in Cambodia is estimated to be over 55,000 VC/NVA forces and Khmer Communists... Current Communist strength in Laos is estimated at about 145,000 North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao.

The present threat to Thailand is primarily one of insurgency. Although the insurgency continues to expand, it is not yet considered a serious threat to the internal stability of the Royal Thai Government. This assessment was given me by Thai officials during my recent visit there.

Insurgents along the Thai-Malaysian border are under the direction of the Communist Party of Malaysia (CPM). The remaining insurgents are under the direction of the Communist Party of Thailand and receive some support from the Peoples Republic of China, North Vietnam, and Pathet Lao...

16th COUNCIL MEETING

April 27-28

THE Council of Ministers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization will hold its 16th Meeting on April 27-28 in London, it was announced on February 19 by the SEATO Secretary-General, Lieutenant General Jesus Vargas.

General Vargas said that Foreign Ministers were expected to head delegations to the Council Meeting, where the situation in the Treaty area and work plans for the commencing year would be reviewed.

"I believe it is of considerable merit that the venue of the meeting is London," said General Vargas. "It underlines to our friends and would-be foes alike, that the United Kingdom along with other non-regional members of SEATO attach importance to the freedom of South-East Asia."

General Vargas said that a final communique would be issued after the final session on April 28, at which time he would also hold a press conference.

LONDON

● Lambeth Bridge is in the foreground of this attractive panorama of London. In the skyline's centre are the Houses of Parliament.

Venue for SEATO's 16th Council Meeting

As the delegations of the SEATO member nations prepare to fly to the British capital for the 16th Council Meeting of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, a Special Correspondent takes a look at the lighter side of the current London scene....

MANY of the world's cities are more beautiful—some reputedly gayer—but London is probably the most fascinating and many-sided of them all. Whether you stay a few days or several weeks, each day could be spent differently from the last.

If you seek history, London's streets are paved with it. Everywhere ancient buildings rub shoulders with the new, and medieval courts lie just off the modern traffic routes. There is the widest choice of modern entertainment, but old traditions and ceremonies are kept alive.

London's famous museums and galleries show international masterpieces of art, craftsmanship and invention; its theatres and concert halls attract the world's stars of opera, ballet, music, drama and comedy.

● *One of London's most historic buildings, the Tower of London, begun in the 11th century. It stands on the left of another famous landmark, Tower Bridge, completed in 1894.*

The West End of London is Europe's shopping centre. Its cosmopolitan restaurants serve the dishes of the world, while pubs all over town, and along the river, dispense British fare in a convivial atmosphere and surroundings often little changed since the novelist Charles Dickens described them over a century ago.

This up-to-date city of the 1970s has 2,000 years of history. The River Thames, flowing broadly through its heart, created London and fostered its growth, trade and prosperity through all the centuries since.

Romans sailed into the Thames and founded Londinium, a key trading outpost of their Empire. Some remains of the Roman wall are still visible among the city's office blocks.

A thousand years later William the Conqueror from Normandy was crowned in the new Abbey of Westminster, and gave Londoners their first charter of rights. His fortified riverside castle, the Tower of London, today houses the priceless Crown Jewels guarded by Yeoman Warders in picturesque Tudor costume.

Medieval London saw the beginnings of the famous City Companies which have played so illustrious a part in its history. By the time that Elizabethan merchants of the 16th century were pioneering the ocean routes for trade, the City of London was the world's richest square mile (two square kilometres) and a treasure-house of merchandise. From the ashes of the Great Fire of 1666, a new London arose under its architectural genius, Sir Christopher Wren.

The glorious dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, his masterpiece, and towers and spires of many lesser churches that survived the blitz of the Second World War pierce the skyline bravely among new office skyscraper blocks that have been sited to preserve historic views.

Today, the City of London remains the unchallenged centre of international finance and trade. It is the world's main gold bullion market, the largest international insurance market, and the leading market for the chartering of cargo ships and aircraft.

In streets behind St. Paul's and the river are the historic financial institutions—the Bank of England, Lloyd's, the Stock Exchange. More than 100 foreign banks have offices here.

The Royal Exchange, founded in Elizabeth I's reign, was London's first commodities exchange. Today such exchanges ring the heart of the City, with those handling rubber, tea and other Far East produce centred on Mincing Lane, near the river. On Tower Hill close by is the Port of London Authority's headquarters, controlling the vast modern docks system that grew from the medieval river port.

To the west, Lancaster House, adjoining St. James's Palace, was once regarded as London's finest private residence. Built in 1826 for the Duke of York, it belonged for many years to the Duke of Sutherland. When the young Queen Victoria called on the Duchess, she is said to have remarked, "I have come from my house to your palace".

Since 1950, the beautiful mansion has been a venue for government hospitality and conferences, and will be the venue for the 16th Council Meeting of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization from April 27-28.

The Royal Parks lend rural charm to this part of London, forming an almost continuous green belt across the centre. In fact, you can stroll for over a mile, from Westminister to Kensington, treading on grass nearly all the way. Sheep sometimes graze in Green Park, in view of Piccadilly's roaring traffic, and in the wider spaces of Hyde Park, famous for its open-air "parliament" at Speaker's Corner, there

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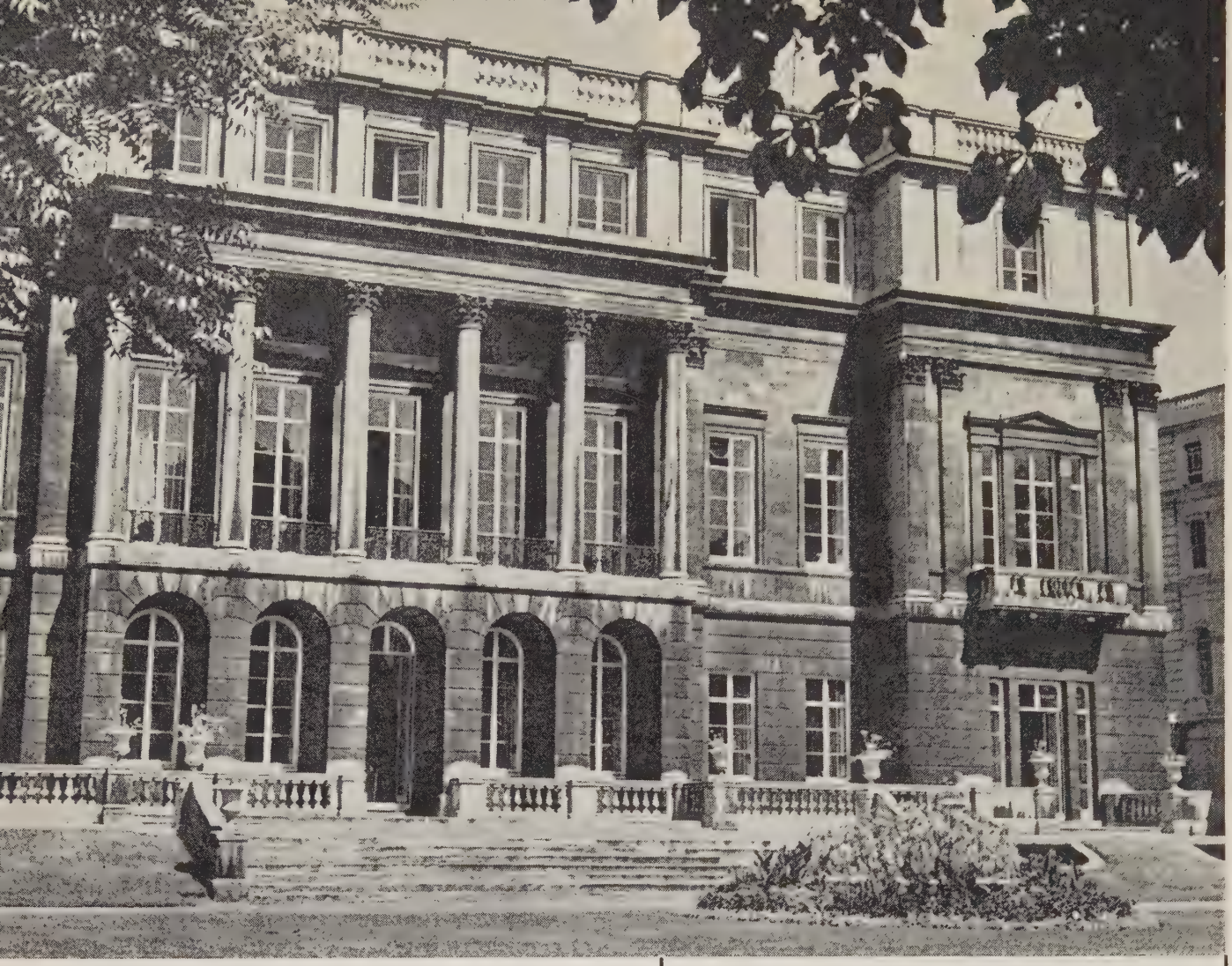

● *LANCASTER HOUSE, LONDON... the elegant 19th-century building is used for government conferences and hospitality and will be the venue for SEATO's 16th Council Meeting on April 27-28.*

are early morning bathers in the Serpentine, and horse riders galloping along Rotten Row.

From Lancaster House it is but a step into the heart of the West End and its famous shopping streets. Bond Street, the aristocratic centre of fashion, has old-world shop fronts that have successfully resisted change and modernisation. Royalty has shopped here and in neighbouring Burlington Arcade for over a century.

A step or two from the elegance of Regent Street is narrow Carnaby Street, of recent fame, with its outrageous shop windows displaying the bizarre fashions for the young, and where, in every doorway, the ears are assailed by pop music.

But the hub of the West End, and of Britain, is Piccadilly Circus, attracting sightseers anytime just to stand and watch the world go by. After dusk the twinkling, multi-coloured advertising, theatre and cinema signs provide one of London's greatest free spectacles.

Close by is the heart of theatreland along Shaftesbury Avenue, Haymarket and Charing Cross Road, and the big super-cinemas that have replaced the earlier music halls in Leicester Square.

Kensington with its galaxy of museums and the Royal Albert Hall, and Bloomsbury with the University of London and British Museum, are London's established centres of culture. The newest is on the South Bank of the river, and grew out of the site of the 1951 Festival of Britain.

The Royal Festival Hall—one of Europe's finest—is now the centre of a complex of new halls and galleries in which music or ballet is performed throughout the year, and where frequent exhibitions of modern art and scupture are staged.

From the terraces, concertgoers may enjoy far-reaching views of the floodlit buildings and monuments up and down the river banks, from the Westminster towers eastward to the splendid dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, like a detached ball of light floating high above the night-time city.

Philippine CD Programme gives new deal to the masses

● The Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD) has become a gaint organization of more than 3,000 multi-purpose technicians serving more than half of the barrios of the Republic of the Philippines.

By ROSENDO R. MARQUEZ

WHAT many social scientists have hailed as one of the "most successsful community development programmes in Asia" was midwifed by a revolution.

It was the alarming threat of the Red-inspired Huks in the 1950's that prompted the then Philippine Defense Secretary Ramon Magsaysay to think of an agency to serve as a civic action arm of the military. When he became President, he created such an agency—the PACD—to give a new deal to the masses, many of whom had already lost faith in their government after having been neglected for decades.

What emerged a few years later—January 6, 1956 to be precise—was what is now known as the Presidential Arm on Community Development.

From all indications, the Philippine CD programme has lived up to the expectations not only of the President at the time but of those who succeeded him. In 15 years, the CD agency has brought about the completion of assorted community projects and training activities—all geared to changing the attitudes of our people from over-dependence on government assistance and civic apathy to self-reliance and resourcefulness.

PACD has since then put up no less than 406,929 assorted projects worth P270.2 million. And in the process of implementing those grants-in-aid and purely self-help projects, which have served as a part of their training in self-government, the people's negative attitudes have changed to positive, resulting in the acquisition by the masses of new skills and aptitudes that have made them more resourceful and productive citizens.

PACD today is no longer run by just a handful of rural missionaries; it has become a giant organization of more than 3,000 multi-purpose technicians strategically spread and serving more than half of the barrios and all towns and cities of the Republic of the Philippines.

From the outset, the plan was for the trained CD technicians to serve as multi-purpose workers whose main job was to stimulate the village masses to be self-reliant and resourceful instead of being eternally apathetic to change. The idea was and still is to transform them from over-dependent individuals who always rely on the Government for the solution of their problems to self-reliant citizens. ➡

● *The author, who is PACD officer in-charge, is shown at the rostrum delivering a speech during a meeting of the Rizal Federation of Barrio Councils.*

PHILIPPINE CD PROGRAMME

The PACD approach is psychological: it lets the material projects serve as training tools.

In line with this concept, the initial projects implemented were generally small—mostly gravity irrigation and water systems, multi-purpose pavements, etc. Although those undertakings contributed not much to the social and economic development of the nation, the more significant aim was to make self-help a way of life in our barrios.

At the early stage of the agency, it was difficult to undertake development projects since there was no legal body in the barrios by which local developmental programmes could be anchored. The only governing statute for the barrio at the time was Republic Act 1408 which was passed in 1955.

A few years later, however, the PACD recommended new legislation—which is one of the functions of the PACD—which culminated with the passage of Republic Act 2370 or the Barrio Charter on June 20, 1959. Taking effect on January 1, 1960, the new law marked a milestone in the history of local governments in the Philippines as well as the community development programmes for that matter.

The law provided for the holding of elections for barrio council members every two years and granting powers and responsibilities, rights and privileges to the barrio officials and residents.

It was under this atmosphere that the barrio council attained a greater degree of dynamism, strength and vitality. Thanks to the Barrio Charter and the training programmes conducted by the PACD, the barrio officials started assuming their role in the planning and execution of their own development programmes. The barrio masses in due time developed new skills to assess and organize local resources for community projects and enterprises, too.

By anchoring developmental efforts upon the barrio council and by the long and patient process of preparing the residents to get involved in the barrio government, more projects were implemented even if there was inadequate support from the national government. Together with the council officials and village lay leaders, thousands of youths all over the country were also enticed to attend various skills and orientation training programmes on leadership and CD in the hope of tapping their talents to cover up for what the government lacked in material and financial aid.

Barrio officials were assisted to plan for the development of their respective communities and priorities were set up in these plans. It was then that CD workers realized that while they possessed tremendous duties and responsibilities, they had limited powers in implementing them.

Thus, on June 22, 1963, Republic Act 3590 was passed by Congress to revise community development operations whose emphasis shifted to the promotion of viable, effective and dynamic barrio councils as the unit for community development. Hence, from then on, all developmental programmes, projects or activities in community development were made to revolve around and anchored on the barrio council. It was deemed that this would enable the community development programme to enter an activity without any rival—and without duplicating the work of other agencies; that community development was leadership building and the success of the programme depended upon the unflinching assumption of responsibilities by local leaders in the barrio. Thus came the agitation for what came to be known as the Revised Charter.

Even before this was passed—hand in hand with the implementation of the Revised Barrio Charter —a new focus on emerging leadership pattern ultimately leading to the barrio council as the focal point of operations was adopted. And since the focus of operations has been "internalized" within the community there resulted better planning, implementation, and evaluation of developmental programmes.

Despite the lack of funds and support from the government officials, the PACD from 1956 to the year 1965 had maintained a tempo of action and achievement, albeit limited. No less than 29,828 CD projects under the grants-in-aid programme were completed while 42,088 assorted projects via purely self-help were put up by the residents themselves.

All in all, these projects cost over P 50 million, about one third of which was shouldered by the government through the PACD.

Aware of the significance of community development in the over-all efforts of nation-building, President Ferdinand E. Marcos elevated the office to cabinet level in Executive Order No. 1 issued on the day he assumed office. He subsequently rebaptized

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● *The centre at Baras, Cantanduanes—one of over 1,400 multi-purpose centres built with PACD assistance.*

PHILIPPINE CD PROGRAMME

the office from Presidential Assistant to Presidential Arm on Community Development and increased its budget from a mere P 10 million to P 34 million annually. (The P 169 million rural development aid fund directly issued to the barrios was not a PACD allocation, as mistakenly believed).

The President also appointed to the PACD helm one of his most trusted men, Secretary Ernesto M. Maceda, to oversee the intensification of the administation's CD operations to the hilt.

Soon after Maceda took over hundreds of CD projects sprung up. Multi-purpose health centres mushroomed in the provinces and bigger irrigation dams costing more than P 300,000 complemented the government's drive to increase food production. More roads and bridges, more water supply systems, multi-purpose pavements, and other projects were built.

And so, during the whole four years of what is otherwise known as Marcos I—considered as the "golden years of PACD"—no fewer than 55,424 community development projects worth P 87,227,204.31 were stimulated and implemented by the no less than 3,000 community development workers.

Of this huge amount, the PACD contributed P 48.7 million, while the rest was shouldered by the barrio residents, the local governments and socio-civic organizations. All in all, the projects are now serving some 26,000 barrios benefiting some 26 million Filipinos.

Of the total number of projects implemented during the first term of President Marcos, some 10,865 were financed under the grants-in-aid programme —a scheme wherein the PACD puts up one half of the total project cost while the barrio people put the other half in the form of free or "bayanihan" labour materials and land sites.

Under this programme the total project cost reached P 69.1 million with the PACD share of P 30.7 million. In addition to these projects, there were put up and installed some 1,600 irrigation pumps from reparations and a sprinkling of other projects like rotary weeders and other farm equipment, hollow block-making machines, rice kits, transistor radio sets, iron pipes for water systems, etc.

As a result of undertaking such projects in partnership with the government through PACD, the barrio people have realized that they, too, without outside help, can undertake projects solely financed by them; that instead of waiting for government help. they can do these things by themselves.

Because of this, they were able to put up a total of 286,705 purely self-help projects worth a little over P 73 million in terms of cash, materials, labour and landsite. This yielded an investment return of close to P 2.38 spent by the barrio people for every peso poured in by the PACD.

Also during the four-year period, there were conducted a total of 182,282 training and informational activities which involved no less than 13,865,000 participants, mostly barrio council members and lay leaders. The expenses involved for this kind of activities totalled P 24.2 million of which the PACD shouldered only P 902,135.00.

Indeed, despite the current crisis, the CD programme keeps marching on.

THAI CULTU

By Dr. David F. Casey

The author holds Doctorates in Western Philosophy and Indian and Chinese Buddhism. For seven years he taught history of religions in Japanese universities. He has attended the past two International Congresses of Orientalists. Recently he was in Thailand to study Thai culture, language art and religion.

สบายดีหรือครับ
Sabai di ru krab
(How are you ?)

ไปไหนคะ
Pai nai ka
(Where are you going ?)

เราเป็นเพื่อนกัน
Rao pen puen kan
(We are friends)

MAN does not make his natural surroundings—the land, the sky, the weather, flora and fauna—but he does change them and this on-going process of changing his natural surroundings he calls civilization. But man, in this process, changes himself as well and this evolution of man's spirit is called culture.

Within man is the creative imagination to make symbols—patterns and designs—to express, externalize and communicate with his fellow-man the light of understanding and warmth of the heart that is in him. Some of these symbols are uttered by the voice; others are seen by the eye; still others are bodily acted out as gestures or components of dance.

To be sure, Thailand's cultural symbols are uniquely her own—such as the flag she has designed and chosen or the language she uses. It is these cultural symbols that bind the Thai people into a national unity and are the key to the uniqueness of the Thai people.

But strange as it may at first seem, many of these unique cultural symbols possess an often overlooked universal aspect or value which makes the Thai culture in many ways similar to the others of Asia. These universal aspects are so many hidden, but common bonds with other Asian peoples.

The unique Thai language is a beautiful example. Like every Asian people, the Thai people say "Hello!"; that is a universal value, but in the Thai language a man must add the word, *krap*, to indicate a man is speaking, whereas a woman must add *ka* to show that a woman is speaking.

All other Asian nationals will recognize in the Thai greeting their own *Hao Puttas* or *Konnichiws* as

Bonds with other Asian nations

a translation. Respective idioms are translatable into other language, because of this common or universal element.

In the Thai language there are two words for friend, *peuan* and *mitra.* The first is like the Chinese word for friend, *Yu,* while the second is like the Indian *mitra.* The tones of the Thai language are reminiscent of classical Chinese. Many Thai words are close to Cambodian, and the Thai "*How are you?*" is very similar to the Lao *Sabai di bo?* In Thai, it is *sabai di ru?* The Thai language has many double words to indicate motion or sound, as does the Japanese language.

Cha cha, meaning slowly, recalls the Japanese double word of the same meaning, *shidai shidai,* though the sounds are not very similar. One Thai greeting *Pai nai?* expresses the identical meaning as does the Japanese *doko e*—where are you going?

In literature, drama, dance and music Thai cultural symbols have many bonds with India—as the theme Rama in the Ramakien and the musical rāgs; with Indonesia—as drums and reed pipe instruments.

The hand postures of the exquisite Thai dancing are part of a widespread Asian tradition found in such geographically distant places as Central Asia, Hawaii, Japan and the Philippines.

In the decorative arts, stylistic affinities with India, Ceylon, China and Cambodia are numerous. Pikanet—the Sri Ganesa of Sanskrit literature and art—is the Thai patron of the arts. In Thai painting the Jataka themes—with stories of the Buddha—are treated in a distinctively Thai way, but are the same as those found in paintings from Ceylon to Central Asia to Japan.

In Thailand—as in Europe and America—religion entered the culture from abroad, but the Buddha image of Sukhotai is both uniquely Thai and recognizable as having counterparts in Tibetan, Chinese, Burmese, Central Asian and Japanese art. The towering form of the Thai *chedi* is unique, but reminiscent of the stupas of Ceylon and Burma.

In education Thailand's ideal of respect for teachers—the *kru* and *adhjan*—is impressive and similar to that found in the Chinese Confucian tradition, the Japanese sensei—tradition and the guru of India. Even in the area of food, Thailand—like most Asian nations has designed a diet based on rice. But Thai *Khaolam*—rice baked in a bamboo section—is unique to Thailand.

When peace comes again to Asia, all Asian people will enrich their national feeling by seeking to mine from their cultural symbols the universal aspects that are seeds for a deeper and truer internationalism based on, and growing out of, the past openness of their own cultures to bonds with other cultures.

Most men see only the unique values in their culture: they know only their own language, have seen only their own land. Language and national boundaries cut them off—as it were—from understanding deeply other cultures and from discovering what is similar to themselves in other people.

Foreigners and foreign languages and foreign countries are "very different" and "strange". But those who travel and read about other lands find in foreign lands peoples and language much that is similar to their own—the universal values.

The 20th century is the age of the common man and cultural change is affecting him. If the common man is to belong to the world of the 20th century, and especially the Asian sector, he must seek to final bonds with his fellow man—bonds over and above race, religion or nationalism—for these divide men into groups.

In the spirit of every man is the symbol-creating imagination that produces and recognizes what is common in all.

HOSPITALS

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THE recent plight of a distinguished Russian biologist and a young Russian writer has highlighted one of the most reprehensible methods used by the Kremlin in dealing with political dissenters: forcible commitment to special psychiatric institutions.

The biologist, Prof Zhores Medvedev, was "fortunate". As a result of public pressure from within and outside the USSR, Soviet authorities released him after keeping him in an asylum for nearly three weeks (on the ground that he had evinced signs of "extreme nervousness") and after praising the doctors who had him there for having performed their "humanitarian duties."

The 27-year-old writer, Vladimir Bukovsky, first described his experiences in a Soviet asylum in an interview in a Washington newspaper last May and later in a filmed interview with the then CBS correspondent in Moscow, William Coe. Possibly because the story of Bukovsky like that of Medvedev, had become a minor cause celebre, he, too, has been left alone.

The cases are hardly unique. Hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of Soviet citizens have gone into mental hospitals in recent years merely for having defended their constitutional rights to freedom of speech, Press and assembly. What follows is a distilled report on their experiences.

It is based on official Soviet sources, on reports by Western correspondents in Moscow and on the enormous body of "samizdat" literature—"self-publishing" articles, letters, petitions and books that have been circulating clandestinely in the Soviet Union over the past few years.

UNDERGROUND NEWSLETTER

In particular, it is based on information in the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a remarkable underground newsletter which has been appearing, with uncanny regularity, every two months since April, 1968. Its meticulous reports on protest activities in the Soviet Union, and on measures to suppress them, have never been challenged by Soviet authorities, and their accuracy has been borne out many times.

It was under Stalin that the practice of silencing perfectly sane non-conformists by confining them in mental hospitals was firmly established.

According to a samizdat letter by S.P. Pisarev, a Communist since 1918, a decorated war veteran and himself a onetime inmate of a prison-hospital, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party set up a special commission in 1956 to investigate the abuses perpetrated by "special psychiatric hospitals" under Stalin. As a result of its findings, "hundreds of healthy people" were restored to liberty.

The commission also recommended that the hospitals be removed from the jurisdiction of the secret police and placed under the Ministry of Health. As with other commendable initiatives of the initial post-Stalin era, however, this proved to be short-lived.

The recommendations were quietly shelved, the culprits mentioned in the report were left at their posts, and the commission members were removed from their jobs in Central Committee bureaucracy. Indeed, "special psychiatric hospitals" acquired a new lease on life under Khrushchev (who believed that only "mentally deranged persons" would deviate from "the will of the collective") and under his successors Brezhnev and Kosygin.

Who are the offenders, what is the nature of their "abnormal" behaviour and what are the criteria used for committing them to insane asylums? To begin with, not all of them are "politicals", even in the rather flexible sense in which this term is used in the USSR. People have been

FOR THE LY SANE' IET UNION

By Abraham Brumberg

detained for "psychiatric observation" merely for contacts with Western tourists; so have alcoholics and religious believers.

In fact, the practice of confining sundry transgressors in mental hospitals, thus obviating the need for open trials, adherence to certain procedural niceties and unfavourable publicity, has become so widespread that even Soviet officials have found it necessary to criticise it.

ILLEGAL ACTION

Thus a legal expert, A. Koblikov, writing in the April, 1967, issue of *Soviet Justice*, asserted that it was "illegal" to commit to psychiatric institutions those acquitted by courts or who had completed their jail sentences.

By and large, however, the major criterion for confinement in insane asylums is "political activities" ranging from possession and circulation of samizdat material to participation in open protest demonstrations. Here are a few recent cases, representing only a fraction of those on which evidence abounds, each preceded by the bizarre "diagnosis" of the offender's illness:

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Case No. 1

"Chronic schizophrenia."

Name: Vladimir Lvovich Gershuni (nephew of a famous leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. The largest in Czarist Russia). Age: 39. Occupation: bricklayer. Past history: arrested in 1949, tortured, sentenced to 10 years in a labour camp. Arrested: October 17, 1969. Charge: dissemination of "falsehoods derogatory to the Soviet State and social system" (Article 190-1 of the Criminal Code). Evidence: 20 copies of a leaflet in defence of Maj-Gen Pyotr Grigorenko (a prominent figure in the Soviet dissent movement) published in Paris by the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights.

INTERROGATED BY KGB

Treatment: First held for five months in the Butyrki prison in Moscow, then transferred to the Serbsky Institute of Psychiatric Diagnosis (the most infamous of all the prison hospitals, headed by Dr. D.R. Lunts, whose services to the secret police go back to the Stalin period) and from there back to the Butyrki prison. Interrogated by the KGB, by a "forensic medical team," and by an "ideological diagonistic team" and declared mentally ill.

Trial held March 13, in absence of accused (the customary procedure in such cases). The witnesses, all colleagues of Gershuni, testified that he held strong opinions on various political subjects but "denied that Gershuni was mentally ill and emphasised that he was a good workman and a morally stable person."

Counsel for defence challenged basis for diagnosis and demanded a new psychiatric examination. Sentence: confinement to a special psychiatric hospital for an unspecified term (also customary). Postscript: Gershuni was at first placed in a cell

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with insane criminals. In protest, he declared a hunger strike which lasted for 14 days. Finally placed in cell with other "politicals".

* * *

Case No. 2

"Schizophrenia. Paranoidal personality development."

Name: Valeria Novodvorskaya. Age: 19. Occupation: student. Arrested: December 5, 1969 (Soviet Constitution Day). Charge: violation of Article 70 of the Criminal Code (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). Evidence: "a poem on Constitution Day" composed and distributed by Novodvorskaya in the form of a leaflet.

(Here are some of the lines: "Thank you, party/for all you have done and are doing/to nurture the hatred we feel today/thank you, party. Thank you, party/for the high noon of grovelling duplicity/ for the inertia, deception and mental dishonesty thank you, party. Thank you, party/ for all the falsehoods and lies/ for all the portraits and informers/for the shots in Prague's square.")

Trial: March 16, 1970, held not only without offender but without her knowledge. Sentence: forcible confinement in a special psychiatric hospital.

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Case No. 3

"Creeping schizophrenia."

Name: Victor Kuznetsov. Age 33. Occupation: graphic designer. Past history: detained by KGB in March, 1965, after participating in a debate on "Cynicism in Social Life" at Moscow University; in October, 1966, recounted his earlier experience at a meeting of the International Student Discussion Club in Moscow, again interrogated and committed to a mental hospital for two months.

Arrested March 21, 1969. Charge: violation of Article 70. Evidence: dissemination of works by Andrei

Russia's hospitals fo

Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel (the two writers sentenced to labour camps in 1966 for publishing "anti-Soviet" works abroad) and other samizdat manuscripts. Trial: July 16, 1969. Defence lawyer's plea for open hearing rejected. "Commission of experts" (including Lunts) had found him insane and a "woman expert from the Serbsky Institute who appeared in court without ever having seen Kuznetsov agreed with the opinion of the preliminary commission." Sentence: confinement in special psychiatric hospital.

* * *

Case No. 4

"Residual signs of an organic illness of the central nervous system with changes in the personality and deterioration of the intellect."

Name: Vladimir Borisov. Age: 37. Profession: electrician. Forcibly removed from his place of work June 12, 1969, placed in an ambulance and driven to a psychiatric hospital (Leningrad). Charge: violation of Article 190-1. Evidence: "Borisov was informed that he had been brought (to the hospital) because of the samizdat materials (found in his apartment) and because he had signed protest letters. These, as the man in civilian dress said, could only be regarded as evidence of mental disorder and hooliganism." Sentence: confinement in special psychiatric hospital.

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Case No. 5

"Paranoid development of a psychopathic personality, amounting to mental illness."

Name: Ivan Yakhimovitch. Age: 40. Profession (by training): philologist. Past history: appointed chairman of a collective farm in Latvia in 1960 subject to a panegyric in the October 30, 1964,

he 'criminally sane'

issue of *Komsomolskaya Pravda.* A dedicated Communist, Yakhimovitch was so shocked by the January, 1968, trial of four young students and writers in Moscow that he wrote a letter to Politburo member Suslov denouncing those who think that ideas can "be murdered with bullets, prisons or exile" and warning the party "to correct the mistakes that have been made before the workers and peasants take a hand in this affair." Subsequently participated in other protest activities, primarily in connection with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. As a result of these activities, subjected to a steady stream of harassments, starting with dismissal from his job, deprivation of residence permit (which made it impossible for him to seek any employment whatsoever) and ending with his arrest on March 26, 1969.

Charge: defamation of the Soviet state and social system. Proceedings: it took three commissions of "medical experts" and two separate trials to dispose of Yakhimovitch's case. The first commission found him "schizophrenic", and the second issued the diagnosis listed above. The first trial, held in August, 1969, recommended a "repeat commission." The latter upheld the findings of the second commission, and the second trial, held in April, 1970, resulted in Yakhimovitch's commitment to the Riga Republican Psychiatric Hospital.

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Case No. 6

That of Victor Fainberg, whose diagnosis, "schizoheterodoxy," was branded by the chronicle as "cynical even for institutions of this sort." A young art critic, Fainberg participated in the August 25, 1968, Red Square demonstration against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The chronicle's comments: "the authorities decided against putting him on trial, evidently because after his beating on Red Square...he had lost all his front teeth and had a concussion...he was informed of (his diagnosis) by the doctors who are 'curing' him."

The principals in each of these sordid dramas act out the parts assigned to them beforehand. The KGB performs the search, arrest and initial investigation. The medical "experts" co-operate in furnishing bogus "diagnoses". And the court confirms the "findings" of the doctors and sends the victim off to a prison asylum to languish until "cured" (which in most cases consists of the patient's confession that he is indeed "guilty" of some form of mental aberration).

As for the defence attorneys, some of them are courageous and honourable men. They are prevented from doing the one thing that is clearly called for: challenging the very basis for the "trials" and thus exposing them as nothing more than exercises in political chicanery.

Instead, they must fall back on procedural or circumstantial factors—e.g., questioning the composition of a given "medical team," objecting to the wording of the diagnosis or arguing that the possession of this or that samizdat manuscript does not really constitute evidence of mental disorder.

BULLIED BY DOCTOR

Some of the medical examinations, on whose outcome the fate of the patient presumably depends, last no more than 20 minutes. Some go on for months. Whatever their duration, all the available documentation makes it obvious that they are as related to bona fide psychiatry as is water to wood. The 1964 experiences and observations of the indomitable Gen. Grigorenko (now in an asylum for the second time) contain numerous examples of such investigations, whose only purpose is to force the prisoner to recant.

He recounts the case of a Moscow crane driver who had circulated leaflets bearing a caricature of Khrushchev. "Both the (KGB) investigator and the doctor spoke to Yuri about one thing only—recanting. Moreover, the doctor was a worse bully than the investigator, painting a vivid picture of how Yuri would be shut away forever among 'loonies' if he did not recant."

Even more revealing is the case of Vladimir Borisov (No. 4 above). Upon his arrest, "one of the doctors came up to him and said, 'listen, Borisov,

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you're quite normal; you don't want to be sent to a lunatic asylum, do you? Better change your ideas about politics.'" After he was transferred to a hospital, his wife was told by a woman doctor that her husband "needed treatment because he did not behave as a normal person should" (e.g. when Mrs. Borisov objected "this was not a symptom of illness but a question of Borisov's personal opinions" the doctor replied: "maybe, but he was unlucky; he is down on our register. What may be a system of opinions in a normal person is a sign of illness in your husband"

And the indignities which the suspects suffer in the intial proceedings pale in comparison with what awaits them at the hospital. Grigorenko, for instance, 65 and suffering from World War II wounds, is in the Cherniakhousk Hospital, one of the most notorious of its kind. There is barely room in his cell to stretch and to dress, and he has as a cellmate a criminally insance man who killed his wife and is in a continuous state of delirium.

Vladimir Bukovky, in his CBS interview, told of severe beatings and forcible injections of two pain-producing and debilitating drugs for rude remarks and other minor infractions of discipline. He also told of the "roll-up" of a patient in wet canvas which shrinks and tightens as it dries.

These bestialities (and many more related by the chronicle) make it legitimate to speculate whether one of the purposes of confining mentally sound political dissenters in insane asylums may not be precisely that of driving them insane.

The poet and mathematical logician Alexander Yesenin-Volpin alluded to this chilling possibility in an open letter to Alexander Solzhenitsyn (last July 20, 1970). In an insane asylum, he wrote, "all the methods of psychological pressure, of contemporary medicine, can be utilised in efforts to achieve a complete transformation of personality."

That the sufferings inflicted upon the inmates under the guise of "therapy" may indeed bring them to a state of mental collapse is unquestionable. Says Grigorenko in his essay "on special psychiatric hospitals".

"The whole horror of the position of a healthy man who finds himself in conditions like these lies in the fact that he himself begins to realise that in time he will become like those who surround him. My military training, and maybe the iron constitution which my parents passed on to me, enabled me to learn quickly to insulate myself from my surroundings, and my internment in the hospital passed without any particular harm to my psyche.

The one thing I cannot forget, the one thing that sometimes wakes me up at night, is a wild nocturnal cry mixed with the hollow sound of shattered glass. From that I could not insulate myself. Evidently during sleep, one's nerves have no defence mechanism against such stimuli. But I can imagine what a man must go through if he is receptive to everything around him through his highly strung nervous system, and if his defence mechanisms are not as well developed as mine are."

PROTEST STUDENT BEATEN UP

The tendency to view any kind of nonconformist behaviour in "clinical" terms, to regard the rebel against society as a "screwball" at best or a dangerous psychotic at worst, is not restricted to any one country. But nowhere, it seems, does it assume such ugly forms as in the Soviet Union.

One of the most dismaying items in the chronicle, for instance, concerned the young Riga student Ilya Rieps, who on April 13, 1969, tried to set himself on fire as a gesture of protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. His attempt was aborted by a few sailors, who "rushed up to him, stifled the flames" and then "beat him up."

Prime Minister Kosygin himself, at a news conference at the United Nations in June, 1967, branded Svetlana Stalin a "morally unstable and sick person," and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, on July 22 of the same year, described her as a "sick woman whose personality shows evidence of sexual anxiety."—*Washington Post Copyright. Not to be reprinted.*

SEATO PUBLICATIONS

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SEATO Annual Report 1969-70 (English) — by Lt. Gen. Jesus Vargas, Secretary-General of SEATO.

Story of SEATO (English, Thai), New Edition, 1969.

Information magazine on SEATO's Military and civil activities.

Manila Pact and Pacific Charter (revised 1968.)

Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter.

Aspects of the History, Culture and Religions of Pakistan

Lectures by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi, as a travelling lecturer under the SEATO Cultural Programme.

Collective Security : Shield of Freedom (Revised, 1963).

Medical

Research into Disease— (Revised): Cholera (Pakistan—SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory) in English and Thai.

Research into Disease—II : The Search for Health (SEATO medical projects in Thailand).

Research into Disease—III : Malaria (SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok) in English and Thai.

Community Development

Report of the SEATO Seminar on Community Development, July 19-23, 1965. In English and Thai.

The Role of Youth in Asia

Report of the SEATO Seminar on 'Youth's Response to Challenges in Asia', Feb. 13-17, 1967.

Posters :

Better Communications for Better Living (English, Thai)

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A lecture in booklet form given at SEATO Headquarters by Douglas Hyde in May, 1968.

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Two papers in booklet form presented by Douglas Hyde at a SEATO-sponsored seminar.

What is Communism? (English, Thai)

by Michael Davis. A straightforward explanation of Communism and its objectives.

Know Your Enemy (English, Thai)

A study of Communist tactics of infiltration and suggested counter-measures.

Buddhism in Thailand

By R. Bhavilai. A modern Thai's interpretation of Buddhism.

Printed by Sompong Chaicharoen at the Sompong Press Ltd. Part. 14 8 Pracharasdra Road, Bangkok, April, 1971

● The Band of the 1st Battalion Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, based in Singapore, puts on a special show outside SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok. During its short stay in Thailand, the band gave performances in Bangkok and for villagers in North-East Thailand.